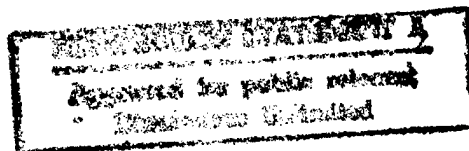


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14 June 1982



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2022

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MORE EFFECTIVE WAYS OF TEACHING MARXISM SOUGHT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Mar 82 p 9

[Interview with Assistant Undersecretary George Jozsa by Antal Lukacs:  
"Marxist Ideology--Socialist Intelligentsia"]

[Text] [Question] The professional education taking place at our colleges and universities also serves as the source of the new generation of socialist intelligentsia. In this process, what role does instruction in Marxism-Leninism have?

[Answer] Let us begin by saying that today we must develop a modern higher-education system that will on one hand produce independently thinking creative professionals who are strongly grounded in theory, and on the other hand will prepare them for public service tasks with the mastering of occupational knowledge and skills. In this respect, in addition to the social experience gained as a result of the college or university years, ideopolitical instruction is of outstanding importance, which also includes the teaching of Marxist-Leninist subjects.

[Question] The changes of the past decade, to which the student parliaments at universities have reacted strongly, certainly could not have left the instruction of Marxism-Leninism untouched. What new opinions have arisen in regard to this?

[Answer] It is no secret that much criticism has recently been directed at instruction in Marxism-Leninism, especially on the forum of student parliaments. Not mentioning those one-sided, extreme criticisms which have condemned Marxism due to various ideological errors or behavioral flaws on the part of college students, we must say that the criticisms--with certain exceptions--have for the most part been constructive and realistic.

I find this manifestation of criticism natural, since due to the influence of domestic and international changes in the past few years, the political-ideological and scientific requirements of teaching Marxism have increased greatly. As a consequence, the weaker points of instruction, those in need of change, have surfaced. Thus, I perceive that instruction could not keep pace with the economic, political, cultural and ideological changes that took place in the last 25 years, or the effects of international life and

the change of generations on students and teachers alike. This fault is partially caused by the fact that the theoretical analysis of these changes was often in a previous stage, or had not taken place at all, while instruction can only be based on the already established theoretical results of analysis.

Of course, this situation does not exempt us from the responsibility of modernization, although it is still early to speak of its forms or process. We must not perform hasty, premature modifications, although we must not delay in instituting necessary, considered changes. It is a fact that with the questions, developmental concerns and contradictions of the building of today's socialism, all subjects must receive earlier and more open attention. We must only give sincere answers to the questions of either the age or the students.

The subject of Marxism is considered to be among the ideological subjects in higher education. At the same time, many different subjects are included among the ideological ones. For instance, if no ideological agreement exists between philosophy and, say, history, or between musical esthetics and music history, then the student must decide which teacher he believes. Of course, this is not wrong. In fact, the student must be able to fight these battles on analytical grounds.

I agree that the difference between the so-called "ideological" subjects and the special subjects is relative. The social sciences have a direct ideological context, but the natural sciences also come with their own set of ideological questions. The ideological subjects are at the same time special subjects too. Philosophy would be empty nonsense if it did not join with thorough knowledge of the history of thought and the unique system of philosophical thought and analysis. Accordingly, I find it meaningless in instruction to draw a strict division between specialized and ideological education.

Ideological education is namely the purpose of the whole of higher instruction, in which Marxist subjects have their unique, demonstrated role. If ideological differences appear between Marxist subjects and specialized subjects, then the student will actually accept the viewpoint which is presented more convincingly and with more factual basis on his part. However, these conflicts are not inevitable; as a matter of fact, the teaching of Marxism and special subjects can reinforce each other's influence in ideological formation. I think the deciding factor is the ability of Marxist instruction to integrate new scientific advances and discuss them with the involvement of the students.

[Question] How do college university students judge the teaching of Marxism?

[Answer] During the student parliaments held in the fall, students from many colleges and universities addressed the teaching of Marxism. It became apparent from their critical observations that they expect instruction capable of giving a sincere and convincing explanation for today's

realities. They criticized the fragmented nature of the teaching. They recommended that we should insure a greater possibility for major-related options within the instruction.

The decisive majority of the observations were voiced with the purpose of improving Marxist instruction. Among the recommendations, there was more than one thought-provoking, worthy idea, for which we must say thanks. Not just for this reason, but also for the whole of instruction, I find the opinion of the students especially important. The teaching of Marxism can only become effective in the form of dialogue with the students.

[Question] What conclusions did you and the department you direct reach on the basis of the above?

[Answer] Lenin once said that today's youth reach socialism differently. We have often quoted this thought without considering it adequately. Even in teaching, we must begin with the fact that today's youth grow up in entirely different surroundings. Their experience is quite different from that of earlier generations. Their historical knowledge is also different. Their behavior, their criticism and often their impatience stem from a desire for action, for change. Thus we must prepare our youth, the future intelligentsia of our country, for action and the knowledge of how to act. It is therefore also necessary that they should acquire their ideology, their social viewpoint through their own intellectual power. Marxism is not a complete, finished theory, which has set answers to everything; it is an open ideology and science which bases its truth and its answers on concrete analysis of concrete situations, and not on preconceived dogma. This is why we must involve the students as partners, as adult, independently thinking, rational persons in the analysis of questions. We do not want to chisel the students' thinking, but rather we want to provide effective aid in the development of independent, logical thought for independent action.

We do not consider Marxism to be the closed collection of final answers, like some kind of crystal ball: it is the indispensable analysis and philosophy necessary for revealing the truth.

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# OVARI SPEAKS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION ISSUES

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 5, May 82 pp 3-14

[Report by Politburo member Miklos Ovari, presented at the 7 April 1982 session of the MSZMP Central Committee: "The Situation in Public Education and the Tasks of Its Balanced Development"]

[Text] It was 10 years ago that the Central Committee of our party last held a comprehensive discussion of the situation in public education, and of the tasks for its development. This fact alone warranted, but particularly other reasons and circumstances prompted, that we again have placed this topic on the agenda. For in our public life there are many controversial questions regarding the present functioning of education and the directions of its development; in the background of these questions there are problems that have long awaited solution; at the same time, the requirements of the economy's intensive development present new tasks for education; in the absence of answers there is considerable uncertainty, and even a lack of confidence, among the teachers and the public, regarding education and its management.

The mentioned reasons and circumstances have resulted, particularly in recent years, in that one-sided and exaggerated judgments also have spread, in addition to the justifiable criticisms. Some people question the historical achievements of our education and the results of our teachers' dedicated work. Others believe that education is a suitable target for false views criticizing society.

From all this it obviously follows that it is time to review the experience with implementing the resolution adopted 10 years ago, to examine the present problems of education, and to set the principal directions of further work.

The first conclusion we may draw is that the principles formulated in the 1972 resolution are valid also long-term. The unalterably timely and outstandingly important tasks of socialist education are: to train independently thinking, dedicated, active, initiative and creative personalities; to continuously renew and modernize the content of the education transmitted by the school, and the work methods in education and training; to impart knowledge based on sound general education; to enhance mobility that is desirable from the viewpoint of socialist society's development, and particularly to promote, by social and pedagogical means, further study among the children of blue-collar workers; to preferentially develop elementary schools; and to broaden school democracy.

An important element in the balance of the past 10 years is that on the whole implementation has advanced education: numerical, quantitative growth has been considerable; most of the new curriculums and textbooks that are being introduced are better



than the old ones; teaching methods have advanced; and the elementary school has enjoyed preferential development despite the worsening economic conditions.

State education would have been unable to develop without the teachers' efforts, the work of the state organs (including the councils), the help of the party and social organizations, and the support of the enterprises. However, an important share of the results can be attributed to the changes taking place in entire society, to recognition of what the 12th party congress formulated as follows: education is an integral part of socialist society's development and an important factor of our economic progress.

When we speak with appreciation of the work performed and of its results, we must also mention--with strict objectivity, criticism and self-criticism--the work left undone, the objective stresses in public education, and the shortcomings in implementation. Contrary to the spirit and intent of the 1972 resolution, the efforts to end unnecessary workloads, and to narrow the differences between individual schools, have often led in practice to a lowering of the requirements, to downward equalization. In retrospect we must also establish that there were also delays and confusion in implementing the resolution.

Both our favorable and unfavorable experience confirm that the school, the educational system can be changed only with great circumspection. Educational work must not only be renewed, it also requires stability. The school cannot tolerate extensive or too frequent changes. The measures introduced in recent years to modernize educational work could not be adequately prepared and coordinated already because education and training occasionally were snowed under with too many such measures simultaneously. A few decisions had to be revoked, and their withdrawal was warranted. However, too frequent corrections of the measures aimed at modernizing educational work can lead to further disturbances, and they also undermine respect for the management of education.

State education must now cope with several accumulated problems, each one substantial in itself. Noteworthy among these problems are: the current complete introduction of the new curricula and textbooks; the growth of enrollment; the change-over to a five-day week; and the ensuring of objective conditions to meet the higher requirements.

A primary objective of the political standpoint that the Central Committee is about to adopt, after weighing the needs of society and the possibilities for the development of education, is to set the principal directions and most important tasks in the development of public education, providing thereby a basis for government organs in drafting a substantiated educational development program, for the balanced long-range development of education. Another important purpose of our standpoint is to contribute toward the creation of more tranquil working conditions in education, toward a more balanced social assessment of the schools' work and mission, to the stability of the school as an institution, and toward the clarification of some long-pending questions regarding development.

However, we must clarify not only the purpose of our standpoint, but also its subject and content. Already in the course of the preliminary work we first had to answer the question whether to investigate the long-range development of public education or the possibilities of resolving the present stresses.

In the matter of long-range development--i.e., the first group of questions--investigation of the structure of our educational system and its possible transformation were raised some time ago, thus also in 1972. The conclusion of the debate on this question during the past decade and the results of the investigations can be summed up as follows: At present it would be unwise to decide a radical transformation of our educational system, not even as a long-term objective. Foreign experience also warns that we must proceed cautiously in transforming the educational system. The decisive argument, however, is that the possibilities for the development of public education are by far not exhausted even under the present educational system. Firmer and deeper foundations of general education for every student can be established even within the framework of the present schools. (By general education, of course, we mean education not only in the so-called humanities, but also in the natural and even the technical sciences.)

The present difficulties, problems and functional disturbances--the justifiable complaints regarding the level and quality of education and training--do not stem from the structure of our schools. Even within the framework of our present educational system there are many untapped reserves for more effective, more modern and more successful work in education and training. If we were to disregard this recognized fact, our attention would be diverted from the problems now awaiting solution and the sense of uncertainty within society and among teachers would be perpetuated, whereas what we primarily need now is to consolidate the results achieved to date and reduce the uncertainty. We might add that the professional and scientific debates have not produced a comprehensive and specific concept that could be responsibly offered for adoption.

Today our public education primarily needs greater stability, and therefore it would be unwise to add another very difficult task to the accumulation of problems awaiting solution. Therefore the Central Committee is closing the debate on the structure of the educational system, which has been going on for more than a decade, by adopting a program for the continuous renewal of public education, instead of a long-range structural reform.

Of course, a continuous program of renewal does not mean that we are barring further professional debate on the structure of the educational system. But until professionally substantiated, convincing and unambiguous proposals are presented, we must solve within the framework of the present educational system all the tasks that the changing needs of society and scientific progress raise for education. Thus also in the long-run the eight-grade elementary and subsequent secondary education will be the foundation of our educational system.

If we decide in favor of gradual development, instead of a comprehensive reform, the question arises as to whether we are able to identify the long-range objectives that gradual development must serve.

It is generally recognized that one must not think solely in long-range perspectives, disregarding the present problems and the path into the future; and also that development can become haphazard, or even doomed to failure, if there is no clear objective for the realization of which all this is being done. This applies also to the development of public education. Therefore we need a program of continuous development that takes into account the present tasks as well as our longer-range objectives.

Of course, we are unable to define in every detail the long-range objective in the development of public education, and this is not even necessary. For the program of building a developed socialist society determines the principal directions of social, political, economic and cultural development. In full knowledge of this program, it is possible to identify also the long-range objectives of public education, at least to the extent that self-critical analysis of these objectives, and of the present state of public education, enables us to identify--without the risk of serious mistakes--the tasks that will permit us to proceed toward our long-range objectives.

In accord with the policy guidelines of the 1972 resolution, in the proposed guiding principles we attempt to summarize what basic functions education must perform in the period of building socialism, so that the rising generations will acquire the education and the moral traits that our present and particularly our future tasks demand.

Especially important among the basic functions is the support of certain social-policy aspirations. Firm people's power and national unity forged in the spirit of socialist objectives are the greatest achievement of our social system and the main guaranty of our development. In the interest of preserving and developing them, we are striving to comprehensively unfold socialist democracy. If we do not want socialist democracy in public education to be merely a slogan without content, or an obligation that can be fulfilled only perfunctorily, then we must investigate what specific long-range tasks stem for public education from the requirement of developing socialist democracy.

The assertion of people's power and socialist democracy in public education means first of all that there are no educational monopolies, nor can any develop. For every member of the rising generation we are striving to provide more-equal opportunity to study and develop individual abilities, so that everyone may acquire the knowledge qualifying for the job best suited to his abilities and enable him, in knowledge of the social processes, to help shape his own future and that of the community.

In our educational system there already is a permanent effort--and this will be increasingly true in the future--to provide more equal opportunity for further study and professional advancement, primarily by pedagogical means and through pedagogical solutions.

Our educational system is frequently criticized because progress in the liquidation of inequality in educational opportunities has not been sufficiently tangible and fast enough. It is often denied that schools have any positive role in the liquidation of inequality. Although our schools are characterized by numerous shortcomings also in this respect, the accusation is unfounded that our educational system perpetuates and reproduces the inequalities that still exist in our society. Facts prove that our educational system's persistent effort to reduce educational disadvantages has produced significant results also in recent years. An important development in the democratization of culture has been the practically universal completion of elementary school and the large-scale expansion of secondary education. As a result, the level of education has risen significantly also among strata that earlier were barely educated. For the children of blue-collar workers and of skilled workers in particular, all this has substantially improved their opportunities for

further study and vocational training. Our efforts have not been invain, and noteworthy proof of this is the fact that the children of semiskilled and unskilled workers have become skilled workers in large numbers. We can also claim credit for stabilizing around 40 percent in higher education the proportion of students from worker-peasant families.

All this does not mean that we can be entirely satisfied with the achieved results. Our primary problem at present, and foreseeably also in the future, is that the school is unable to provide as much help as could be expected and would be feasible, in the case of children whose family environment can offer neither suitable encouragement nor specific assistance for the successful continuation of their studies. Even today a large proportion of these children are over-age when they complete elementary school; those of them who continue their studies find it difficult to stand their ground in secondary school, and their dropout rate is well above the average. A basic education-policy and pedagogical task in the coming years will be to develop more help for children disadvantaged in various ways, and to elaborate expedient pedagogical solutions for such help, on the basis of research and experimentation.

I would like to emphasize, however, that help for disadvantaged students and the efforts to reduce inequality in educational opportunity must not lead in any case to a relaxation of the requirements. The principle of inequality must not counter the differentiated development of abilities, and it does not follow from this that above-average students should be neglected. By the principle of equality we have always meant equal opportunity, and not equal abilities. The desirable solution--the one that the socialist educational system must enhance--is to let every student develop his talents and abilities as fully as possible, within the limits of his natural endowments. Only differentiated pedagogical procedures, and not misinterpreted uniformization and schematic egalitarianism, can help achieve this. Therefore we regard as an important task to provide pedagogical help also for the exceptionally gifted students who are capable of advancing faster than the average student. As mentioned already in 1972, we relate the concept of talent to entire human activity, thus not only to theoretical abilities but to practical skills as well.

The school will be able to meet the requirements of society if it can solve these two tasks--i.e., help for the disadvantaged, and differentiated development of abilities--in their integral unity. The higher the level of a school's intellectual pedagogical work, the more favorable are the conditions for alleviating the effects of disadvantages that are of social origin.

Hence it follows that not only is it necessary to upgrade the substandard schools, but it is also in the interest of society that there be famous, outstanding schools, more than there are at present. This does not violate socialist equality; to the contrary, the example of such schools is an indispensable magnet for entire public education. And there is also a great need for eminent and erudite teachers with above-average knowledge and pedagogical skills, who will train outstanding theoretical and practical experts for socialist society. This of course requires that their work be appreciated not only by their students, but by entire society as well.

We should mention here the discredited false dilemma of a heavy or light workload for students. The two are not necessarily opposites. Unnecessary assignments breed mediocritiy because they make absorbed independent work impossible. A light

workload means that an attempt is made to solve every lesson perfunctorily, with more hours in the classroom, by expanding the textbooks and curricula.

The students' performance depends to a large extent on our success in finding the best methods. In other words, the students' performance depends on the effectiveness of teaching. There still are great reserves in the methods of teaching employed in our schools. We should seek solutions not in lowering the requirements, but in demanding more and better work from the students. For every level of the educational system, therefore, we must set high requirements that demand sound effort. The level of school work, its exacting requirements, order, discipline and organization are the most important factor in training the students to work.

From the viewpoint of future socialist society it is of primary importance that the school prepare the students for gradual adjustment into society. Ideological education is an important element of this. One of the most important tasks of formal education is that it teach the students--in the individual subjects and through entire pedagogical activity, taking into account the characteristics of the students' age--the fundamentals of a scientific world outlook.

With the introduction of the new textbooks, the study of civics has been broadened in elementary and secondary schools. In every subject there is greater emphasis on the requirements of socialist education. At the same time, however, the fact that the programs of the subjects that specifically serve to provide social, political and ideological orientation are often ineffective causes concern. The students' knowledge of history is at a very low level, and especially their knowledge of recent history is sketchy. Of course, it is not solely the school's task to lay the foundation for the students' scientific world outlook. At their highly impressionable age, the students are exposed to a variety of influences. However, the school is able to do the most, through education and training, by synthesizing these various influences, by forming an integrated, scientifically substantiated world outlook.

Another important element in the rising generations' adjustment into society is the gaining of social and political knowledge. The young people of today are more demanding; their interest is keener than that of the earlier generations. Presumably this will be increasingly true in the future. We might add that this broader interest is typical of entire society, of adults as well. The mass media--television in particular--bring into the home daily the most important domestic and foreign events. At the same time the young people are inexperienced and have many questions. Adult society and the school cannot sidestep these questions. But in order to be able to answer the questions, teachers need far more help than they have been receiving up to now in the form of regular briefings and high-level further training. A greater role in this must be assumed also by the party organizations.

The students' smooth adjustment into society depends in many respects also on whether they have opportunity to gain suitable practical experience of public life. The school does provide opportunity for the students to learn and practice good citizenship, social activity, and the application of democracy. The great educational possibilities inherent in the students' independent activity are still unutilized to a significant extent. In the educational process, however, the students' self-reliance and independent activity are still confined within narrow limits. Very

often the students are able to participate only in programs decided and organized from above. Most students do not identify with such programs and attend them only because they are compulsory. In this respect there are many perfunctory elements also in the work of the youth organizations.

Of course, the education of youths and their smoother adjustment into society are not solely the task and responsibility of the school, nor of the social organs. There can be no substitute for the responsible role that the family plays in raising the children, the young people. Family cooperation is indispensable in turning the young people, exposed as they are to the example and influence of their immediate environment, into responsible, work-loving, independently thinking and acting, healthy adults of sound mind. The social organs, and also the mass media, must help to gain as wide understanding and acceptance as possible of the fact that care for the children by society cannot replace any of the functions of the family. In education and training particular attention must be devoted to family upbringing and education in the school.

However, preparation for adjustment into society is not a question of education alone. It is an understandable social requirement that the schools turn out students who will be able to apply their knowledge in jobs that are important and necessary to society. Close coordination of the training of specialists and the needs of society is one of our most difficult tasks. Rapid changes in the life of society, and within this particularly the rapidly changing economic tasks (it is hoped that they will change even more rapidly in the future), make even medium-range planning difficult. The tasks awaiting the graduating specialists include also ones that were barely known or entirely unknown during their school years.

In this situation, then, it is not easy to satisfy the needs of society in accordance with the possibilities of instruction, and to take also individual aptitudes and aspirations into consideration. Therefore we must strive to achieve that the school--every type of school--offer solid knowledge that can be developed further, enabling the students to gain new knowledge independently, and to participate in systematic study and further training after graduation. This will make it easier for graduating students to find their place in the social division of labor, to adjust to the new requirements posed by social, economic and technical development, and to change careers should this become necessary, or if they feel that it is necessary.

All these tasks apply primarily to secondary education, i.e., to the secondary and specialized secondary schools. It is a significant achievement of the past 15 years that continued study at the secondary level has become practically the rule in our country. More and more members of the younger generation are able to complete secondary school. More than 90 percent of the students leaving elementary school are continuing their studies.

We could be satisfied with this result if the dropout rate in secondary education were not still high. As a result, for example, the proportion of secondary-school graduates in the 20 to 29 age group is 65 percent at present. Therefore significant further efforts are necessary to make secondary education universal. Another contradiction of our secondary education is that the preparatory and specialized secondary schools are strictly separate. Changeover from one type of school to another is not easy, and this--in combination also with the early choice of a future career--makes it difficult for young people to find their place in the social division of labor.

During the past decade, the internal proportions of secondary education shifted excessively in favor of specialized education. At present about 80 percent of the students continuing their studies at the secondary level are enrolled in the types of schools that offer specialized education. This shift can be attributed partially to the fact that most children of blue-collar workers continue their studies in specialized secondary schools (their proportion in the three-year schools for the training of skilled workers is about 80 percent, 64 percent in specialized secondary schools, and barely more than 40 percent in high school), and partially to the preference of boys for vocational secondary schools (only one out of seven boys at the secondary level is enrolled in high school). There are numerous indications that this structure generates contradictions in placement and further study. High schools turn out about 70 percent of the students in higher education, whereas this type of school accounts for barely 20 percent of an age group. This influences unfavorably the social structure of the students in higher education, and in many fields also the ratio of male and female students; there are few men in certain intellectual professions. The problem is compounded by the fact that higher education, until very recently, failed to take into consideration the structural peculiarities of enrollment in secondary education, the significant increase in the proportion of students enrolled in specialized secondary schools. The current modification of the requirements for admission to higher education, already made public, will alleviate these problems.

Difficulties requiring urgent solution are arising also in secondary vocational training. Excessive specialization unalterably remains the greatest concern in vocational training. Although some things have been done, during the planning and introduction of the new curricula, to curb excessive specialization and to provide vocational training that better meets the long-range needs of the economy and can serve as the basis for gaining further vocational training, there is still much to be done to develop vocational training that flexibly adapts to the requirements of economic and technical development. Especially lately we are beginning to realize more and more that it was a mistake to divorce the training of technicians from the educational system. The qualification of technicians within the framework of training courses is encountering serious trouble. Also the training of technicians must be regulated in an acceptable manner within the entire system of vocational training, taking into account the special requirements of the individual fields.

The problems and contradictions of secondary education are not of recent origin. The specialists have been seeking solutions for a long time. Studies unambiguously indicate that the secondary school must be retained as a separate level of education also in the distant future. Society and the economy will continue to need specialized secondary schools that simultaneously offer a general education and vocational training, in integral unity. To this end the general subjects in the first two grades of the specialized secondary schools must approximate the subjects taught in high school. This will make it easier to change over from one type of school to another and to make changes in the choice of a future career, and it will partially offset also the drawbacks of having to choose a future career too early.

Of course, there are changes from time to time also in the specialized secondary schools' functions and in the vocational knowledge offered. The requirements of economic development place new demands on the specialized secondary schools as well. The schools will be able to meet these demands only if, instead of overspecialized vocational training, they offer a broad general educational and solid specialized knowledge, and if they strive to develop the ability and willingness to work. A

high level of general education will pay dividends not only in the work process; it will play a growing role also in social activity outside the workplace and in the lifestyle of individuals.

The school for the training of skilled workers will long remain an indispensable element of our educational system. Its gradual development means that on the one hand cooperation between these schools and the enterprises will be reinforced, and on the other hand they will approximate the specialized secondary schools.

According to our party's program declaration, we wish to make universal the continuation of study at the secondary level in our country. Every type of secondary school must be developed, already for demographic reasons. Primarily the needs of higher education warrant the gradual expansion of high-school education. When planning the quotas for enrollment it is necessary to take into consideration that the general education obtainable in high school and the more-practical knowledge that can be acquired on an elective basis mean that graduates can find jobs also at the lower and middle levels of intellectual professions. Our present experience also indicates that an ever-larger proportion of high-school graduates who do not go on to higher education are acquiring vocational qualifications. On the basis of these considerations we will plan a slight increase in the proportion of high-school students.

The balanced development of our educational system in harmony with the needs of society places great demands on the managing organs. All this necessitates the further modernization and improvement of the entire system of educational administration. The modernization and changes launched in the 1970's were progressive on the whole and have had a favorable effect. On the basis of the law governing local councils, integrated administration of elementary and secondary schools by the councils has been achieved, and the right to operate schools has been decentralized. In the central administration of education, the public-administration conditions have been developed for asserting uniform branch responsibility. The purpose of decentralizing administration was to increase a given area's interest in, and direct responsibility for, the maintenance and development of educational institutions. These principles will have to apply also in the future.

In the central state administration of education it will be necessary to reinforce policy guidance, and parallel with it also the ministry's regional inspection, coordinating and organizing work. We propose that the Council of Ministers, in cooperation with the ministries concerned with the administration and development of public education, prepare a long-range program for the development of the educational system. We must ensure the educational system's well-thought-out, continuous and consistent development. We must avoid pitfalls, because they create confusion and anxiety in the schools.

We must also see to it that the development of public education and that of higher education are coordinated. Except for the questions concerning the training and further training of teachers, we will now dwell separately on the situation in higher education and the tasks of its further development, because the Politburo debated more than a year ago a separate proposal regarding the principles for the development of higher education, and this work is already in progress. A coordinated program for the development of public education and of higher education must be ready by the end of 1983.



The managing role of the councils will be indispensable also in the future. At the same time, however, it will be necessary to improve coordination of general supervision and special supervision. The paperwork in special administration has swollen; this not only limits the possibilities of special management, assistance and guidance, but it also places an intolerable bureaucratic burden on the institutions. We must achieve that the centrally set uniform principles and quality requirements for specialized education be realized smoothly also in administration by the councils. In the management of education we must bear extensively in mind that no pedagogical task or change can be realized simply by issuing decrees and directives. In the final outcome everything depends on how we succeed in gaining the support of the teachers and individual schools for the necessary changes. Therefore we must encourage the schools' greater independence and sense of responsibility, and the teaching staff's greater initiative, also by improving the methods, style and professional nature of management. This must be emphasized also because we frequently find that even today the managing organs often perform their supervising, guiding and evaluating activity perfunctorily or too closely. The role of the teaching staff in the preparation of decisions affecting their school must be increased significantly.

Naturally, the greater independence of the schools cannot be imagined without improving the professional managing work of their principals. The tasks that must be solved to this end are indeed very specific. The principals' administrative workload, the overregulation must be reduced perceptibly, and the formation of excessively large schools that pedagogically are practically unmanageable must be avoided. To help principals in the performance of their pedagogical tasks, in making their relations with the councils more meaningful, and in closer cooperation with the institutions of public education, they must receive assistance also in the form of central recommendations, methodological guidance and the direct exchange of experience. These considerations must be taken into account also in cadre work: principals must be selected who are able to manage the pedagogical work of their schools at a high level.

The level of our schools and also the outcome of our present decisions will depend decisively on the teachers. Today teachers are the largest stratum within the intelligentsia: 156,000 kindergarten, elementary-school and secondary-school teachers are educating our youth. This figure is several times their prewar number. They include outstanding personalities and masters of their vocations, just as in the past.

With this we do not wish to conceal something that causes real concern. We are aware that teaching as a profession has declined in social prestige. It is essential to remedy this: by improving the living and working conditions of teachers, and also through greater recognition of their good work. In the schools we frequently encounter phenomena that undermine the teachers' authority. What I have in mind is not the hiring of teachers without qualifications, for they were needed in our schools, and most of them have proven their dedication and suitability. What I have in mind are the teachers who do their work routinely and nondemandingly, who are averse to anything new, to more-modern methods. When speaking of teachers we must accustom ourselves to avoid generalization. As in any profession, also here the yardstick must be the quality and effectiveness of the work performed. It is important that teachers prove themselves primarily in the school, that they regard the education and training of the younger generation as their primary mission. We would

like to see this attitude adopted within the teaching staffs as well as within the councils that manage and supervise the schools. Today we often find that there are numerous considerations for evaluating teachers, but the essential one--the quality of work in education and training--is relegated to the background. We would not like to see teachers withdraw from the public tasks they have been undertaking and performing voluntarily and gladly, because their communities will not be able to dispense with their help also in the future. But a teacher cannot be a good one if he honestly fulfills his public assignments but neglects his main duty: education and training.

Renewal of the content and methods of instruction will be a great test. In the case of individual subjects, a new body of knowledge and new methods, radically different from the earlier customary ones, are being given the schools. This is not an easy undertaking; as yet we are not able to draw valid conclusions from the temporary difficulties and failures. Teachers, too, need time and understanding. And something more: intensive self-training and further training. We must acknowledge with self-criticism that in this respect there have been omissions and delays also in the work of the managing organs. In recent years we were unable to develop a suitable system for the further training of teachers, one that meets the requirements of modernizing the curricula. This failure can be attributed partially to a shortage of funds, partially to a shortage of capacities for further training in higher education. Furthermore, the underlying concepts likewise were not fully mature. We deem it essential to develop as soon as possible a system and the conditions for the further training of teachers on a high level.

It is no less important to solve as soon as possible the pressing problems in teacher education, problems that weigh on our educational system, in terms of both quantity and quality. The baby boom will reach the upper grades of elementary school by the end of the plan period, the middle of this decade. It is estimated that the demand for teachers will increase by 10,000. Among the qualitative requirements it is an unalterably important task--particularly at the universities--to develop teacher training, to ensure that future teachers have stronger sense of vocation, a firm Marxist world outlook, and are dedicated to the cause of socialism.

Among the present tasks special mention must be made of the changeover to a five-day week in education. The educational system is confronted with changeover amidst the introduction of the new curricula. This obviously causes problems, for many things have to be adjusted to the new forms amidst a process already begun. In planning the changeover to the five-day week, therefore, certain difficulties must be anticipated. First of all we must take care to ensure that the daily workload of the students and teachers does not increase significantly. With shorter summer vacations and a slight extension of the school year, it seems we will be able to avoid any significant curtailment of the curriculum. Everything possible must be done to alleviate the teachers' workload and to create a peaceful atmosphere for their work. The experience to date with the preparations indicate that the five-day week can be introduced next fall, in accordance with the original plans. Today there is not much we can say about how the students will spend their free Saturdays, because this will depend primarily on their families, on their parents. What we would like to see, and what we should strive for, is that parents spend more time with their children and include them more closely in the family's work and recreation, because togetherness is an important factor in forming the student's personality. Of course, the youth federations, cultural institutions, the sport and nature clubs, and even the schools will have to play a role.

Changeover to the five-day week in education, just as in industry, does not mean a simple rescheduling of the time spent at work or in school, because it also involves a certain change of lifestyle. The necessary measures must be adopted in due time, carefully thought out, and everything possible must be done to make the changeover a smooth one. We also have to become accustomed to the new work schedule, and this requires both time and patience.

Solution of the timely problems in public education will depend to a large extent on what social environment surrounds the school, and how the families, local communities, plants and institutions support the teachers' work.

The party organizations have a significant role to play in making public education a cause of entire society. Since 1972, the Budapest and megye party committees, and also the jaras and municipal party organs, have continuously placed on their agenda--on several occasions--the most important questions of educational policy. The ideological, political and education-policy briefing of teachers has become standard practice in more and more localities. The level of party work in the schools has been raised, and in practically every megye seat there is now a party committee of teachers. Under their guidance, organizational work has become more systematic, the differences in the level of the local party organizations have narrowed, and closer attention is being devoted to question pertaining to school life.

The party organs and the local party organizations at the schools must explain the Central Committee's policy directives to the government officials, officers of social organizations and teachers on their territory. On the basis of the Central Committee document, the megye party committees and councils must review jointly the situation in public education and the timely tasks in the megye, and they should adopt a standpoint on the questions requiring political decisions. They should gain the active support of the party members and should further strengthen cooperation among the social forces that aid the work of the schools.

We request the party organizations at schools to improve political and ideological work among teachers and students, and to mobilize them--within the given school--for the realization of the objectives of educational policy. Let them create a peaceful atmosphere in the school, strengthen school democracy and aid the work of the youth organizations. Let them support the school principals in maintaining order and discipline, and in developing a high quality of work in education and training.

To sum up what has been said: in the coming years we must focus attention on solving well the most important questions on the agenda. We must ensure that the schools change over smoothly to the five-day week. The already begun renewal of the curricula, and of the content of the schools' educational and training work, must continue. The necessary corrections must be made continuously, on the basis of the experience gained. We must solve the high-level elementary and secondary education of the age groups larger than the previous ones. The managing organs must ensure the conditions necessary for the continuous development and renewal of public education. Care must be taken to ensure also that the schools and the work of the teachers will enjoy the confidence and support of society.

Gradual development of public education must increasingly become a common cause. Let us solve this great task in such a way that the schools will increasingly be able to meet the requirements that future socialist society sets for them.

# HUNGARIAN SAMIZDAT PERIODICAL 'BESZELO' DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] A number of enterprising Hungarians have banded together to publish a periodical the avowed aim of which is to reveal that things are neither as smooth nor pleasant in Hungary as they seem to the outsider. The title of the periodical, BESZELO, has a double meaning: "Talker" or "Visiting Hours" as in a hospital or jail. The originators of the publication invite anyone who has witnessed or heard of disruptive incidents to submit reports to them anonymously, under a pseudonym or correctly signed.

The first issue of BESZELO is a 117-page mimeographed document measuring about 9 X 14 inches. It publishes the name, address and phone number of the principals involved in its publication. Chief among them are Mikos Haraszti and Janos Kis, long considered intransigent dissidents by Hungarian authorities. Haraszti is author of the book DARABBER, originally banned in Hungary, which revealed how workers were being exploited by the system and the general corruption rampant in factories. The other author-editors are Ferenc Koszeg, Balint Nagy and Gyorgy Petri. The first issue appeared in Budapest in October 1981.

The five-page introduction to this first issue points out that it is "not the aim of the publication to put out an opposition periodical." The goal is rather to make readers aware of "what is happening in the country, what types of persons are prepared to oppose the authorities in pursuit of their human rights, how many are involved in each incident and what their motivation is."

Included in the first issue is a listing of 77 studies or articles which can be purchased simply for the cost of typing at the "Samizdat Boutique" operating out of the home of Laszlo Rajk, son of Laszlo Rajk, Hungary's famous show-trial victim. According to BESZELO, 80,000 pages of samizdat writing have been sold since the "boutique" went into operation over 6 months ago. Boutique operators request the aid of their customers in the form of typing paper, carbons, typewriter ribbon, envelopes and similar supplies.

Boutique offerings cover a wide range of historical, political and sociological topics considered sensitive or controversial by the authorities. Most deal with Hungary, but some are on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Transylvania and even Afghanistan. Besides this listing, the first issue of BESZELO consists of a 5-page introduction plus 12 articles: one of which, "Samizdat Boutique" has already been dealt with in this review.

"The Irresolute Mutineers" describes the annual meeting of the university students parliament as scheduled by the youth organization, KISZ. The meeting nearly got out of hand when those attending proposed establishment of an independent students' organization. What transpired before and during the meeting is revealed, as well as how KISZ succeeded in aborting the movement.

"To Hungarian Catholic Dissidents" is by an author who prefers to remain anonymous. He claims that the authorities have become far more subtle in controlling the church. No longer do they appoint clergy who have lost credibility through involvement with the peace movement. Instead, "they are promoting installation as seminary faculty of priests who have served prison terms for their antiregime attitudes but are so out of touch with the spirit of the times and so conservative that they alienate their students." Behind the apparent placidity of church-state relations, "there is a tremendous crisis all the more dangerous for being unrecognized by all but a few of the clergy." The author feels that many of the clergy have been manipulated through a desire for a comfortable life or outright naivete. Such priests are "undermining the faithful's belief in the Vatican."

"Conversations With a Catholic Priest" relates what happened to seminarians who refused to attend meetings of the peace priest movement. Those who failed to appear were sent on a month's vacation. Later they were permitted to return to school and some were even subsequently secretly ordained. The author reveals which of the higher church officials backed the seminarians and which insisted on collaboration or expulsion.

"How Strikes Are Conducted in Hungary" is an account of a 2-day work stoppage by the 34 members of 4 brigades working at a construction site in Kispest. The action was triggered when an oil stove exploded leaving the men with an unheated dressing room during a snowstorm. Unable to change from their sodden clothing into working gear, they refused to go on the job. An additional grievance was that their only washing facility was a single outdoor pipe. Although 190 workers were employed at the site, the 34 involved in the stoppage made no effort to get the other workers to join them. The author speculates that perhaps the others had more acceptable facilities. The leaders of the stoppage told the superintendent and the trade union committee that they would not work till they had a suitable dressing room. The group refused to negotiate with minor officials. The matter was not settled till the project chief engineer, accompanied by trade union officials appeared on 5 November. The project engineer allegedly said: "Look, men, it's better for all of us if we take care of this among ourselves. Do you know what will happen if you persist? A national scandal: Don't wish that on yourselves. Listen to me. Here wages are paid in forints, not zlotys. We cannot strike here."

An agreement was reached that one of the already completed houses would be converted into dressing and washing facilities provided the workers returned to work the following Monday. No police appeared at any time; no reprisals have been reported, states the author.

"Such Things Can't Happen Here" tells the story of Karoly Jakab, who was committed to psychiatric treatment for "paranoia and an exaggerated sense of justice." Karoly Jakab was formerly county secretary of the Peasant Party,

which was reactivated as the Petofi Party in 1956 and dissolved after the Hungarian revolution. Jakab, himself, made available to BESZELO all the material used in this article, which was researched and written by Haraszti. Jakab, now retired, is a graduate agronomist. His troubles with the authorities began in 1950. He served several prison terms for offenses such as alleged hoarding and writing "insulting letters" to county and local officials. He refused to join the Hungarian Workers' Party and considered dissolution of the Petofi Party in 1956 illegal. This led him to make the ill-advised statement that "the leadership of the Peasant Party never notified me that my mandate had been revoked. Therefore I continue to consider myself the county secretary of this party." On the basis of this statement and the letters he wrote, Jakab was first accused of agitation for which he served 40 days in 1975. When he again ran afoul of the authorities in 1978, apparently for continuing to write letters, the court medical authorities claimed he was paranoid and had him committed to compulsory medical treatment. This consisted of massive doses of Trisedyl [a tranquilizer], Haloperidol [prescribed for psychic agitation, paranoia, hallucinations, epilepsy], Pipolphen, Halidor, Scutamil-C, Prednisolon, Hemorid and Isolanid. Since he continued to be aggressive, he was subjected to 30 rounds of electroshock. Upon his release he continued his "defamatory" letter writing. In 1981, Jakab went to the home of his ex-wife to get a wine press which they used jointly. When she said she could not find the keys, Jakab broke the lock. Thereupon, the ex-wife promptly called Dr Katalin Bacsik, forensic specialist in mental disease in charge of Jakab's treatment. Bacsik had the police take Jakab away, "obviously quite illegally." The author comments: "Of course the case of Karoly Jakab does not mean that Hungary maintains special psychiatric facilities for treating 'political aberrations.' The political section of the police does employ special alienists, and we know of cases of incitement in which the persons charged were declared accountable or unaccountable for their actions at the request of the authorities. Still, it seems certain that our country does not regularly resort to political retaliation in the guise of psychiatric treatment as is the case in some neighboring countries. What seems more probable, as in the case of Jakab, is that circumstances favor reducing the impact of certain political cases by having them classed as psychiatric cases. The authorities are attempting to minimize the number of acknowledged political crimes. However, the domestic traditions of psychiatric treatment and its extensive mandate can lead to legal violations of this sort. Karoly Jakab is in need of medical and legal aid. Through his rehabilitation or rescue we could take a modest step toward the desirable separation of these two all too intermarried professions."

"Polish Children at Lake Balaton" reports how the Foundation for the Aid of the Poor, SZETA, managed to get 24 children, offspring of Solidarity activists, for a 2-week stay on Lake Balaton. According to the report, there were more volunteer Hungarian hosts than Polish children. When Szeta attempted to have a thoroughly sterilized report of its action published, the MTI accepted the report but never had it put on the wire.

"Excerpts From the Chronology of the History of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia" reports what befell the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia from 1944 to 1981. The negative is heavily stressed.

"Warsaw Roundtable Discussion" is the translation of an article published in the 27 August issue of the Polish paper, ROBOTNIK. Participants in the discussion which was held on 1 August 1981 were Ryszard Bugaj, Zbigniew Bujak, Bronislaw Germek, Jacek Jan Litynski, and Jerzy Milewski.

"Twenty-five Years" is the text of a proposal for establishment of the Hungarian Democratic Independence Movement. According to the introductory paragraph, the proposal bears the stamp of Istvan Bibó's thinking and was drawn up before the Soviets crushed the Hungarian revolution. The proposal spells out Hungary's position in maintaining "a friendly, creative relationship with the USSR," its determination to fulfill its obligations as a member of the United Nations. It states that private land ownership may not exceed 40 yokes and that former owners will not be compensated for nationalization of their businesses. Small, private undertakings are to be encouraged and receive the same support as state enterprises. Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary because "their presence gives the impression that Hungary will remain in the socialist camp only under duress." The proposal also calls for freedom of speech, press and assembly and forbids production of fissionable materials in Hungary. Other facets of political and economic life are also addressed in the proposal.

"The Bibó Memorial Book." This article is an appraisal of the reaction to Bibó's thinking of the 77 intellectuals who contributed to the memorial volume. Most of the studies, says BESZELO, concern themselves with democracy's chances of survival in today's world and what background traditions and actual possibilities there are for democracy in Hungary. According to BESZELO, the Bibó Memorial Book is a samizdat publication although it was not originally intended as such. The Hungarian publishing house to which it was submitted turned it down. Consequently, it is available only in typewritten form and has had very limited distribution so far. It has become samizdat despite the fact that "most of its contributors not only write for official publications but enjoy full official recognition." Thus, the book is a "review and bridge between political dissidents of the recent past and those of the future."

"Still Lives of Other Publications." These are profiles of publications such as MAGYAR FUZETEK which is published in Paris and contains writing by Hungarian authors both at home and abroad. MAGYAR FIGYELO is described as "the first typewritten political periodical which appears regularly in Hungary without official sanction." To date FIGYELO has published chiefly documents and articles from other sources. Two full issues were devoted to the Polish situation. The third issue has reported occasions on which "intellectuals came into conflict with the cultural authorities." For example 46 writers and artists of the Kecskemet publication FORRAS are said to have written a letter of protest to Istvan Horváth, first secretary of the party committee of Bacs-Kiskun County and now Minister of Interior, because an article written by Sandor Csóori had been deleted from their already printed publication. Insofar as can be ascertained, FORRAS is concerned chiefly with "the tensions that exist between democratic and national trends. It speaks openly of problems whose lack of resolution divides rather than unifies the two traditions and the exploration of which the authorities forbid from self-interest and the intellectuals avoid from inarticulateness or prudery." SZERA is classed as a typewritten periodical which provides a vehicle for short, unpublished works of young authors. There is no subscription fee for SZERA but it welcomes all support and information. It may be ordered through Gabor Toth, 1074, Dob u. 51, presumably in Budapest.

"Monday Extension Courses" discusses the series of lectures begun 4 years ago and given by well-known speakers in private homes on Monday evenings. The first speaker was Miklos Szabo historian, who lectured for two semesters on the history of the Hungarian party, "he was advised by his supervisor that he would jeopardize his position if he spoke on this topic." Other speakers and their topics have been Gyorgy Dalos, author, on Hungarian literary policy from 1945-1958; Peter Hanak, historian: the middle class from the 1800's to the Liberation; Tibor Hajdu, historian: some little known facts about the 1918-1919 revolution; Laszlo Vekerdi: the biography of certain scientists since 1945; Gaspar Miklos Tamas, philosopher: a comparison of the minority status of Hungarians in Romania between the two wars and at present; Ferenc Janossy, economist: diverse causes of East and West economic crises and solutions; Mihaly Vajda, philosopher: world history and the current limited range of democratic forums--the path toward democracy; Gabor Ivanyi, clergyman: why the free churches of Hungary are not free; Andras Hegedus, sociologist: the major contradictions of East European systems. Currently, Janos Kis, philosopher, is continuing his lectures on Western political literature on Soviet type societies. On alternate Mondays, tape recordings of Istvan Bibo's view on how a democratic and socialist society should be set up are played. Usually over 100 persons, university students or recent graduates, attend the lectures. The authorities are aware of them but apparently rank them as tolerated event. They are arranged by Sandor Szilagyi who should be contacted by persons wishing to speak or who are prepared to offer lecture facilities. The location and topic of upcoming lectures may be obtained by calling any of the following numbers: 165-945, 660-175, 658-217, 183-178, 868-074.

"SZETA's Cultural Events." As the title implies this is a report on SZETA sponsored cultural events. The report notes that SZETA is in need of funds, clothing and volunteers. Its goal continues to be support of the needy. Persons interested in SZETA should contact:

Gabor Havas,	Tel: 163-899
Gabor Ivanyi, "	800-613
Gabriella Lengyel	136-591
Magdolna Matolay	144-075
Balint Nagy	165-945
Ottília Solt	351-086

"Latest Information on Hungarian-Polish Connection." This is a report of a number of incidents involving Hungarian-Polish contacts: In August 1980, an eight-member group intending to go to Poland was held up at the Ferihegy airport and relieved of their passports. No charges were brought against them. Their only crime, says BESZELO, was that they wished to travel together and that they were acquainted with some Polish intellectuals considered members of the opposition. Passports were returned to two of the group, and they were permitted to proceed. This was also the lot of another three persons who were not caught on their first trip but were denied future permission to go to Poland. According to BESZELO, this soon became routine procedure: In February, the economist, Balint Magyar, had his passport withdrawn, because he allegedly had contact with unspecified, dangerous elements in Poland. Magyar subsequently lost his job. Explanation: he had no passport, therefore could not be sent abroad to fulfill his job requirements. At the same time, four other economists and sociologists had their passports revoked on similar grounds. Some of them had gone to Poland on official business; others,



privately. Pal Szalai, a free lance translator, also lost his passport. "This was not because he had protested the Prague trials of 1979 nor because he wrote an article for the Bibó Memorial Book but because he bought a ticket to Warsaw. In July, the passport of Gabor Demszky was revoked. The young journalist, a law-school graduate had been giving talks on his impressions during a two-week visit to Poland. In August, Agnes Hay, film director and Gyorgy Krasso, economist, were turned back when they attempted to take a group of vacationing Polish children on an outing to an amusement park in Czechoslovakia. Both lost their passports. The remainder of this article deals with the extradition from Hungary of a Polish university student and the harassment of Hungarians wearing Solidarity emblems. In regard to the latter, only one case is known in which charges were filed. The emblem was forcibly taken away and its wearer subjected to violence. In response to the victim's charges, the plainclothes policeman said he was acting on the basis of a regulation which states that "using the coat of arms, insignia or emblem of a foreign state or government without authorization is a violation of the law." Comments BESZÉLO: "We can only rejoice that Budapest police headquarters has recognized Solidarity as a state or state organization."

CSO: 2500/260

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON SINAI OCCUPATION COSTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Article by Zygmunt Somkowski]

[Text] (From our Correspondent in Beirut) More than a billion dollars a year--that is what it cost Israel to occupy the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula for 15 years. According to figures given by Yoram Aridor, minister of finances, for that period Tel Aviv spent about 17 billion dollars on military installations, economic investments and for the establishment of Israeli settlements.

The largest part of these expenditures was devoted to the construction of military strongholds on the Suez Canal--the so-called Bar Lev line, which was broken and destroyed in the 1973 October war--and to the construction of modern air bases.

The smallest amount was spent on Israeli settlements. The coastal city of Yamit, inclusive of the neighboring small colonies, cost only 115 million dollars, while Ofira, in the south, near Sharm el-Sheik cost 43 million dollars.

Investment in oil exploration was 2.5 billion dollars. This is the only amount which has not been wasted, as it paid for itself and produced surplus earnings in the exploitation of petroleum.

Military establishments have been either abandoned, destroyed or only partly transferred to the new bases that have been erected in the Negev desert. This, however, does not involve any cost to Israel, as these expenditures were assumed by the United States. It is estimated that the cost to the American taxpayer will be about three billion dollars.

Egypt has already begun to benefit from the oil fields developed by Israeli occupation forces. For over 10 years Israel had exploited these resources. Airports were also given over to Egyptian control, although Cairo is only entitled to use them for civilian purposes. Egyptian administration will draw no benefits from the vacated Israeli settlements. The Israeli government decided to return that area to the state in which they found it and ordered destruction and levelling of all the buildings.

The Israeli government has incurred considerable additional costs due to the necessity of compensation payments to the settlers who had to abandon these settlements.

Many a country would have gone bankrupt as a result of such unproductive expenditures. Bankruptcy does not threaten Israel. Funds for these expenditures came from the outside as the United States aid, as aid from certain other Western states and as donations from foreign Zionist organizations.

As a result it is not Israel but the citizens of other countries who pay the cost of Tel Aviv expansionism. This is one of the reasons why Israel is able to continue such policies.

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CSO: 2600/618

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Pasierbinski: "The South of Africa. Playing with Fire"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The western press again drummed up a detail, trifling in significance, from life in a racist country. This time the authorities of the Republic of South Africa consented to the employment of African women as stewardesses on South African Airlines.../

This type of reporting is supposed to create an impression that the government of Pieter W. Botha "is not that bad" and that it has "an increasingly humanitarian face." In the West, which is linked by numerous and diverse ties to South Africa, it is rather reluctantly being said that /the minor changes in the area of interracial relationships which have been taken by Pretoria, have essentially a tactical character only./ The 4.5 million white minority wants to maintain their domination over the 25 million Native Africans, 2.6 million Metis, and 830,000 Asians, while maintaining the appearance of a certain amount of liberalism. The minority's conviction [is that] the explosion of the "black bomb", i.e., the great racial confrontation, can be avoided by softening apartheid.

It should be remembered that this is the thinking of only the so called enlightened whites, who are concentrated around Premier Botha. The wing of the irreconcilable, however, is clearly becoming more and more active, and they intend to preserve white supremacy at any price. Anyone who does not think their way is a tra or. /Thus, the official policy of South Africa appears to be the result of these two main, competing trends./

Tactical differences

Recent evidence of the internal discord within the South African establishment came with the removal of several delegates from the ranks of the National Party which has ruled for 34 years; [these delegates] did not assent to granting limited political rights to the Asiatic and mixed blood populations. Andries Treurnicht, one of the most important figures in the party and in South Africa, was among those removed. Shortly afterwards,

Treurnicht established the Conservative Party of South Africa, thus augmenting the organized forces of the white extremists who have been increasingly more and more visible in their influence. They are reinforced by thousands of white settlers from Rhodesia who left that country after the proclamation of "black" Zimbabwe.

Let us emphasize: /the difference of opinions in the white camp pertains only to the method through which the whites ought to resist the pressure of "black nationalism." They are linked by their common conviction about the need to maintain the present system and the privileged position of the whites/ (only a few break out from that unified front; for instance, 28 year old Neil Aggett, a white union leader who died in February--probably as a result of torture--in the Johannesburg prison). Even Premier Botha, who appeared a couple of times on TV after the split in the National Party, assured that the changes undertaken "will not be at the expense of the whites..."

This is firmly corroborated by the actions of the South African authorities. Last year, in December, the authorities proclaimed the "independence" of a Bantu state, following Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Vhavenda; their objectives were, among other things, to improve the utilization of the local labor force and to mollify "rebellious spirits." In addition, the authorities aimed at weakening the influence within the country of the leading liberation organization, the African National Congress, whose armed Umkhonto units in Sizwe have executed ever bolder military operations (the well-known attack last year on the Boortrekkerhoogte military complex, near Pretoria).

#### Betting on power

The government has been utilizing it [these events] as a pretext for building up its military and police potential. Last March, Secretary of Defense, Magnus Malan, proposed mandatory military training for all white males aged 17 to 60 and mandatory service in reserve units for males aged 60 to 65.

/There is an increasing amount of data indicating that Pretoria--while making trifling gestures toward the "liberalization of apartheid"--is committed, above all, to resolving issues from a position of power./ This applies not only to internal policy. After the victory of Ronald Reagan, which was greeted with great delight by South African white extremists, the government of South Africa intensified political and military activities aimed at preventing the proclamation of the form of independence wanted by SWAPO, the Namibian liberation organization recognized by the OAU and the UN, as well as the socialist [Soviet bloc] countries.

The efforts of Pretoria, supported behind the scenes by the U.S. and other western countries, resulted in the termination of last year's Geneva Conference on Namibia. It should be noted that the /new administration in Washington has eliminated the constraints on the sale of equipment and

materials for use by the South African police and army/ who have increased operations against the units of SWAPO and intensifies their attacks on SWAPO bases in the southern regions of Angola.

These attacks, by tying up the Angolan forces, assist the rebel group, UNITA, and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, who is maintaining a contact with the Americans. Pretoria hopes that Savimbi will be able to establish a "buffer anti-communist country in the south of Angola." LE MONDE is of a different opinion, saying that sooner or later UNITA will devolve into an "ordinary revolutionized ethnic movement (being supported by the Ovimbundu tribe) and SWAPO will win the elections in Namibia."

The government of South Africa intensively supports a victory for the Conservative Turnhalle Democratic Alliance in the announced Namibian plebiscite and advocates the creation of a cabinet which would be responsive to the interests of the 75,000 whites in Namibia (5 years ago there were 100,000). By the same token [the government of South Africa protects] the interests of the whites in South Arrica and in the entire West.

The western "contact group" that is involved in the Namibian issue consists of the U.S., Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Canada, and it dodges and obfuscates. /It pretends to act on behalf of "free Namibia" but in fact, it has the same aims that Pretoria does/ (Savimbi stated on April 5 that he had "positive contacts" with representatives of the western "Five").

For these reasons, it is not surprising that their [the western "Five"] activities are met with negative appraisal in African public opinion, especially in the so called (frontal) countries. SWAPO, which does not limit itself to the spreading of guerilla activities (in April, units approached the "white towns" of Tsumeb and Otavi, about 300 km north of Windhoek) does not even need to be mentioned. Recently [SWAPO] proposed convening a new Geneva conference on Namibia, however, the western countries found that idea "premature..."

#### Avoiding "fire"

Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere stated recently that /when Namibia is finally independent and South Africa stops using it [Namibia] as the basis for aggressive actions against the Angolan state, then there "will be no need for the Cuban forces to remain in Angola."/ Havana and Luanda are of the same opinion, and Luanda has been evidencing a great amount of diplomatic activity aimed toward a just resolution of the Namibian issue. This has been demonstrated by the visit of the Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paulo Jorge, to Bonn, and to Paris (where he met with the American Undersecretary of State, Chester Crocker).

Portugal also shows visible interest in the totality of issues involving Southern Africa. This is demonstrated by visits of President Eanes to Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania, at the end of last year, and to Angola, in April.

We also should note the initiative of President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, who last March proposed a meeting with the Premier of South Africa for the purpose of discussing "the future of South Africa." He stated that "Afrikaners are not racist by nature, but are motivated only by fear." He also assured that the leaders of independent black Africa do not intend to "push the white South Afrikaners into the sea," yet will still not compromise on the issue of apartheid.

/If the Whites/--said Kaunda--/will not realize the need to reevaluate their relationship with the black majority, it might result in the escalation of violence./ And in that event, what will occur will be of such magnitude that the French Revolution will appear like a picnic for children; the south of the continent will be engulfed in a fire which will "devour all of us..."

/There is then something to contemplate. Both in Africa and beyond it./

9952

CSO: 2600/616

ARMY-POLICE COOPERATION IN BIALYSTOK CONSIDERED EFFECTIVE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 May 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Maj Adam Glowacki: "Taking the Pulse of the City"]

[Text] The Bialystok Garrison and voivodship city territorially comprise over 200,000 inhabitants. It is not easy to maintain order and social discipline in such a large urban center. It requires the joint efforts of appropriate enforcement agencies to accomplish this. Martial law has overloaded official communication lines connecting the local Internal Military Service [WSW] post with the City Command MO. Close cooperation is accomplishing desired results.

Seeing army-police patrols on the streets is not an isolated phenomenon. In and around the Bialystok city districts they are playing a very useful role. Accounts of the past few days show that they have accomplished uncommonly arduous and responsible labor for the local community. The activities of the WSW and the police have been met with society's approval. However, it does happen that unfriendly and even hostile glances are cast in the direction of intervention patrols. There continue to be those among the citizenry who do not relish the idea of the present orderliness of martial law and trends toward normalization of our country's socio-political situation. We are exposing and paralyzing their movements at almost every step. I do not hide the fact that we have been very effective at this.

Being Vigilant Day and Night

A PKP [Polish State Railroads] station. On the platform WSW soldiers and police are falling in. Passengers are looking in their direction with interest. The men in the patrol are keenly observing the crowd passing by along the platform. Is there someone in this crowd who is undesirable, dangerous, and sought after by the district attorney?

The leader of the patrol, Warrant Officer Jacek Wasilewski, has a lot of experience in hunting down perpetrators of crimes. He says that a steady penetration of the assigned regions of observation always pays off. Recently, for example, two suspects were detained who, under the title of "PEWEXU," were carrying out illegal currency transactions. This is no isolated incident. These criminals were handed over to men from a specialized police unit dealing with such matters.



In another part of the city we met a mixed patrol of army and police led by Chief Warrant Officer Grzegorz Grzybowski. They had just stopped a car, a "Syrena" model, that was illegally transporting large quantities of meat. These black marketeers tried to make light of the matter by imposing their point of view upon the men at the check point. No luck. After awhile the car changed directions and headed for the City Command MO.

In the WSW detachment, officers have at their disposal accurate data on the effectiveness of preventive actions being carried out jointly day and night with police agencies. The figures included in these data reflect, like a mirror, the actual state of the observance of martial law in the city. These statistics show that there is a slowing trend in some types of common crimes but an increase in the number of offenses against law and order.

#### Preventive Measures Are Never Enough

Men from the City Command MO in Bialystok confirm these data. Lt Col MO Janusz Cyndler states that this is undoubtedly the result of close cooperation between his subordinates and soldiers of the WSW. A mixed patrol inspires greater respect and increases its authority in society. Residents of the city have felt time after time that these civilians in army and police uniforms can be counted on, not only in adversity but when it comes time to helping them cope with the most bare essentials of life.

Zofia Weglowska, a resident of Bialystok, is most convinced of this. In a letter to the chief of the WSW Detachment and City MO commandant, she writes: "I am a lone and ailing widow, an annuitant of the III group. I live by myself, and my daughter who takes care of me has two little children and lives some distance from Bialystok. My two sons-in-law are serving in the army now, and that is why I have turned to you for help-- I hope I won't be disappointed..." In this case it was only a question of a single intervention, but, it happens that there are people who come up with much greater problems. No one of these people are passed by indifferently by the soldiers and police.

Cooperation between the agencies of WSW and MO is planned, and its goal is to have its fingers continuously on the pulse of the city. For we are working on the assumption that preventive measures are never too great and their effectiveness depends, in great measure, on precisely established concerted actions. These concerted actions most frequently are taken up at conferences by a coordinating team that works under the direction of Lt Col Tadeusz Sawicki from the MO City Command. Cooperative anti-speculation crackdowns constitute much of these actions. In this way, many criminals, burglars and members of gangs operating within the city and its environs are exposed.

### A Lesson Not to Be Forgotten

The Bialystok WSW detachment often plays an inspiring role in these joint actions. It has a strong share in them.

"Last year our detachment took first place in training among similar units of the Warsaw Military District," its chief states. "This is best reflected in the actions practiced by subordinate soldiers, among those who are serving with special distinction are: Wlodzimierz Jankowski, Wojciech Bieganski, Ireneusz Augustyniak and Piotr Kalinowski. They and their comrades-in-arms affirm on a daily basis that what they have learned they are able to use successfully in public life. Together with their fellow policemen, they constitute an effective force in keeping all of those people who do not have a clear conscience on their toes.

9866

CSO: 2600/579

RESERVATIONS ABOUT TEACHERS' CHARTER EXPRESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 May 82 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Krasniewski]

[Text] The Teachers' Charter passed by the Sejm in January this year, the fruit of many months of sharp debate, has left the state authorities in a very difficult situation. In order for the new law to meet the expectations of hundreds of thousands of teachers, their employers must publicize numerous rights and changes by issuing a large number of executive legal acts in an extremely short period of time. Only when the last of these has appeared will it be possible to say that the Charter has been implemented and to observe its influence on the development of the educational community and on broad public opinion.

Although it is already May, those who are competent in the matter do not consider that there is any real cause for alarm. All those who wanted to were able to acquaint themselves with the text of the approved law. Everyone involved also realizes that all executive provisions have to be issued by 31 July 1982. Some documents have already appeared.

Nevertheless, I came across a certain amount of disquiet in the schools. In many conversations I asked about the reason for this. I was able to acquaint myself with the opinions of teachers in Nowy Dwor and Jozefow and, indirectly, with that of the reserve managerial cadre in Siedlce voivodship and of the cadre in the Warsaw city section Mokotow. I heard the comments of those who participated in a plenum of the PZPR city section committee of the Warsaw city section Zoliborz concerning education. If one were to try to find a common denominator in all these opinions, the chief cause of the poor atmosphere would appear to be the lack of confidence in the educational authorities.

Praise and Grievances

Teachers generally speak only in superlatives about the Charter. This is particularly true of those with many years', especially 20 years or more, teaching experience.

-- At last we have the chance to achieve a material status equal to that of any comparable profession.

-- At last there will be an end to the years-old division between better and worse pensioners, since the "old file" will be abolished and services will be revalorised.

-- Extra effort will be rewarded in accordance with qualifications, and so on.

Usually, however, this litany of praise, which is limited to the determinants of material status, is followed by a stream of grievances and occasionally sharply worded complaints. The Charter has cost teachers a great deal of energy. Some groups, particularly those in the Teachers' Union (ZNP), are so tired by the community struggle over the final form of the Charter that every suspicion, every piece of information or rumor about attempts to reduce this success, now evokes a sharp reaction directed against their superior authorities.

It is true that members of the ZNP well remember how their colleagues from "Solidarity" tried to frustrate their efforts, artificially prolonged the discussion and discovered ever new obstacles in the attempt to subvert finally the Charter. But they also remember that the draft law submitted to the Sejm by the government omitted a number of important points decided by the ZNP congress and contained others which had not been approved. Thanks to the painstaking work of the Sejm Commission on Education and Upbringing, the final version of the law turned out better than that initially proposed. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Education remains tarnished by the changes which it previously suggested, even though the then minister repudiated authorship of many legal measures. This was the outcome of the coordination of other ministries involved--the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour and Wages--but in the situation which prevailed at the time, no one recognized that the government had the right to put forward its own point of view.

And today? The Charter is already a fact of life; but, in the teachers' community, one comes across charges to the effect that guidelines relating to the implementation of some of its provisions have been formulated too generally; there are rumours about suspected tendencies to narrow down the scope of their application and fears of a new wage scale.

It is this last question which arouses the greatest emotion. In September 1983, wages will reach their highest limit. The average wage will then be equal to the average wages of industrial engineering and technical personnel. In relation to this, interested persons were asking: what lies behind this average, what elements of wages will be compared, and how will they be comparable? People want to know, and there is no one willing to tell them. Since no one is willing to explain, this means that the authorities are again up to no good. Most disturbed are pensioners whose pension rates were to have been increased in February but who are still waiting.

#### Concrete Deadlines

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing seemed to perceive the dangers inherent in the situation in which, given the suspension of all trade-union activity, the ministry has become the chief implementer of the new law. While a number of pertinent Sejm commissions are also involved, their main task is to check on the

compatibility of executive acts with the text of the Charter and not to inform teachers about the course of events. I do not exclude the possibility that, if those concerned were familiar with even a part of the information which the undersigned obtained at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, there would be far fewer causes for misunderstanding.

The ministry finds itself in a back-breaking situation. Within 6 months, it has to prepare 33 executive orders, resolutions, and directives. These legal acts have to be formulated in such a way that, together with the basic law--to quote the preamble to the Charter--, they pave the way "to further legal regulation of the system of national education". The main document is so formulated that this time there can be no question of good or bad will on the part of the employer. In contrast to the law of 1972 which contained numerous alternative formulations, the law passed in January this year has abandoned this practice. It clearly defines who-what-to whom-when. The Charter, I was assured in the ministry, simply has to be implemented and not interpreted. Specialists are trying to formulate regulations so that there can be no room for interpretation but only for their application.

The law contains specific deadlines for implementation. The ministry is therefore unable to delay anything. But several ministries have to take part in the formulation of practically every executive provision that demands steady and intensive work. For example, the directive which has already been issued concerning the inclusion of employment periods, which entitle teachers to extra payments for length of service (up to 20 percent of the basic salary), was prepared in cooperation with the Minister of Labour and Wages. On the other hand, the order relating to the supervision of teachers has to be accepted by all the ministries involved in running schools.

Thirty-three out of the 102 articles in the Charter contain declarations for the state authorities that oblige them to issue executive acts. Twenty-five such documents have already been drafted; eight are being prepared by specialists from several ministries. The particularly important order concerning the basis for comparison of wage levels between teachers and engineering and technical employees in industry is being prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Wages.

#### An Unnecessary Barrier

What about the legal acts being prepared by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing?

Every draft is prepared by the relevant department of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, after which it receives initial approval from top personnel in the ministry. Before it is signed, the draft is sent to two Sejm commissions for approval.

Nevertheless, the law also contains references to rights and benefits defined in such a way that those concerned should receive them from a certain date without the mediation of executive acts. Teachers have already received some of these, for example, extra payments on the occasion of special anniversaries.

But pensioners are still waiting for their increased allowances. If they had known beforehand that this matter is being dealt with by the Ministry of Labour and Wages, and if they had been told that the Social Security Agency is 6 months behind in its work, this would probably not have improved their frame of mind but the barrier dividing the education authorities and the school cadre would not have arisen. The existence of such a barrier was recently confirmed in public by a representative of the top level of the ministry.

What should be added to the above? Probably only that, in the documents shown to me concerning the circulation of draft executive acts, I did not find any information relating to consultation with the teachers' community. Would some form of consultation not diminish the existing barrier?

The question remains of how to fit some form of public consultation into the 3 months remaining. Perhaps the leadership of the education ministry, together with the Sejm deputies, will find a way for the legislative process to proceed with concern for a future as free from conflict as possible.

9993

CSO: 2600/578

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE YOUTH COMMISSION MEETING REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz]

[Text] On Wednesday, 28 April 1982, another meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission took place under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Czechowicz, Political Bureau member and first secretary of the Lodz Voivodship Committee. The meeting was devoted to an evaluation of the preliminary version of the government "Program for the improvement of the living conditions and professional life of young adults." The main theses of the program were presented by Wladyslaw Jablonski, deputy chairman, Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

Jablonski noted, among others, that all programs of this kind are being prepared under particularly difficult economic conditions given that the 1978 national income level will perhaps only be reached in 1990 and the investment capabilities of the national economy are so small that they barely allow to reproduce the durable property. It is obvious, however, that without an active participation of youth in the 15 to 29 age bracket in social and economic life, the coming out of crisis will take even longer. This youth constitutes one-fourth of the population presently, but in 10 years it will shrink to one-fifth. The government program focuses on five major issues: (1) problems of young adults; (2) improvement of education and employment opportunities; (3) improvement of housing; (4) family protection; and (5) starting living conditions of the rural youth. The document envisages various kinds of assistance in these areas with emphasis on a creative participation of those concerned. It is assumed that all financial, social and material assistance will be given first to the best workers and that "youth" itself is not a sufficient qualification for assistance. At the same time, in order to lessen the tensions on the job market and to improve the food situation preference will be given to youth choosing handicrafts, services and private farming, as well as to all kinds of initiatives, such as, for example, a movement of small handicraft cooperatives, etc.

During a lively and open discussion nearly all participants offered criticisms from various aspects of the presented document.

Docent Dr Bronislaw Golebiowski, Warsaw University, stated, among others, that the August protest mainly showed a dissatisfaction of young people with all kinds of bureaucratic attitude and limited opportunities for social activity and innovation in all fields. In present socio-political structures a young man does not have an opportunity to show his abilities and prove his capabilities and managerial talents at an early stage even in the youth movement. It is this movement which should become a sort of reservoir for innovative activity. In addition to construction industry support, which is an indispensable necessity, it is necessary to attempt to open new fields for independent youth activity. Why not give youth organizations sports facilities or entire houses of culture or reactivate well-known initiatives, such as "Bratniak," and reduce the budget of the Central Committee of Physical Culture and Tourism by one half and give the rest to the young?

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman, Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], presented a systematic and detailed critique of the said document in regard to its theses and some of the specific language used. He stated that talking today about any kind of "improvement of the living conditions of the young adults"--as the title of the government program proclaims--cannot take place and is a camouflage of reality. For in conditions of universal decline of the standard of living talking about "improvement" is a misunderstanding to say the least. The young ought to be told clearly and openly that everyone will suffer from crisis, including the young. At the most, the effects of this decline can be softened for them.

The program contains too many details and matters taken from work plans of other ministries long ago approved for implementation, continued the ZSMP chairman. This document ought to contain only new things which introduce real situational changes for the young. The work methodology on this document was strange as well. For many, many months literally nothing was done. Then suddenly the matter was handled so fast that it is difficult to comprehend it. Suddenly a planning team and commissions were created without defining the participation structure for individual institutions and organizations. The previous meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission was devoted to housing construction. It was attended by representatives from the ministries involved. Certain conclusions were drawn and decisions made. Why don't we ask them to report on results of their work and how they are going to be implemented?

It is necessary to put less emphasis on programs and more on implementation, stated Mr Jaskiernia.

Col Tadeusz Jemioło, Central Committee member and commander of the Higher Officers' Radio Technology School at Jelenia Góra, stated that the program under discussion is clearly a result of careful labor. It contains a lot of meaning, many numbers and postulates. So many, in fact, that their full implementation may not be possible. At the same time we must remember that this program ought to conform to the thought categories of the youth themselves. It must be their program as well; so clear and concrete as



to allow the young to look more optimistically into the future. There is a saying today: "the angry young." What else can one expect? They do not have reasons to be satisfied.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, manager, PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Department, emphasized that one of the bigger mistakes made lately has been the creation of a social expectation among the young that the coming Central Committee plenary meeting will satisfy their material expectations. This is not true. Only the young themselves by their own work can improve their own standard of living. We are experiencing now a 30-percent decline in the standard of living and the state can not give anymore. It is necessary, however, to create real conditions for the realization of the youth's own activities in all areas of life. Since it is difficult to count on material progress in the near future, it is necessary to create special opportunities in noninvestment fields and in the nonmaterial sphere. It is necessary to affirm the youth's political importance; it is necessary to satisfy their postulates in regard to social justice.

Years ago we created a belief--which is present today and extends to the coming Central Committee plenary meeting, and was actually put forward at the Seventh Central Committee plenary meeting back in 1972--that the state will give everything to the young. Today it is impossible and harmful. We must not make empty promises, we must not flatter the young.

At the same time, while considering the material situation of the young generation we must remember not to deepen the already existing divisions and generational differences. I have encountered already, for example, with clear opposition to cancellation of loan payments for newlyweds by older employees--continued Mr. Gabrielski. Personally, I do not believe in the success of any special programs for the young. All problems of the young must get a comprehensive attention within the frameworks of the normal operation of ministries.

Ryszard Wosinski, deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union, focused on the need to make an accounting of all programs and plans undertaken since the Seventh Central Committee plenary meeting. The program presented is not a good basis for a discussion; there is a need for a comprehensive program which will allow the youth to see their place in the society. This document may be a program of the government's actions, but what we need is an indispensable program of political action directed toward the youth. However, these problems are barely touched upon in the document.

Other participants emphasized the need for a comprehensive look at the advancement opportunities of the working young in the framework of the socialized economy. It cannot be that a young person, educated in the ideals of socialist humanism, will see the realizations of his aspirations only in handicrafts and private sector. Opportunities for real advancement, without any formal and apprenticeship-type limitations, must be created for the young person.

Minister T. Jablonski attempted to rebut most of the criticisms expressed. He stated that in some aspects the program introduces new elements which create chances for a real improvement in the situation of the young, although in most cases these are just a preventive measure and protection against excessive regression. The demand to create a political program does not contradict the document presented which is addressed to the authorities and must be very specific. The demands in regard to the changes of the advancement principles merit attention although they will be difficult to carry out.

The discussion was closed by the speech delivered by Tadeusz Czechowicz, chairman, Central Committee Youth Commission. He stated that the present meeting is only a fragment of great debate about youth within the party ranks. The first theses in this regard were submitted to the Central Committee members who already made many interesting comments. Already 10 plenary meetings of voivodship committees have taken place, and the discussion has entered the city and village district levels. The idea is for the organic work in this area to have a grass-roots origin. Despite various points of view and critical voices expressed in the discussion the authors of the government document ought to be commended for a comprehensive approach to the problems of the young. The fact that we have already something to criticize today is some measure of success.

The party must today tell the youth and the entire society the truth and only the truth. It will be necessary to analyze at the meeting of the Council of Ministers what is the share of youth affairs in the state social policy. We must attempt to show a total vision. We must not allow the strengthening of the belief in society that the present young generation is a generation of lost chances. Did the young rebuilding the country after the war have better chances? We must then bring forward a thesis on the chances of the present young generation and present a global program of opportunities for fulfillment of the young's aspirations in many fields.

A great legislative reform process takes place in this country today and it is the youth who ought to be particularly interested in securing through this process healthy economic and social principles and the place in the society. Today in particular the party and youth organizations ought to take leadership positions among the young who are creatively unhappy. This will be difficult in practice. Such people are unconventional; they do not like to follow, but criticize and give hell.

The problems of advancement opportunities must be addressed by these documents. And we are not talking about giving preferences to youth. We show a fighting spirit at the commission meetings, but why do the young not fight at their workplaces for the advancement of their peers? Out of political interest we must create for the young a chance for advancement in key sub-sectors of economy, industry and creativity. Such attitudes ought to be publicized and given preference.

The Central Committee Youth Commission asks the youth organizations that they present at the next Central Committee plenary meeting concrete ways of

support for a part of this program with these organizations' resources, for example, in such areas as sports, tourism and culture. It is also necessary-- despite present difficulties--to consider possibilities for real assistance to the youth movement base, because really in comparison with the other countries in our camp the situation is simply bad.

Prior to the Central Committee plenary meeting on youth problems there will be another meeting of the Central Committee Youth Commission to discuss the ideological and political situation among the young.

8609

CSO: 2600/563

LACK OF PEASANT YOUTH IN HIGHER SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish No 4, 25 Apr 82 p 10

[Article by Andrzej Konopko]

[Text] Soon another group of young people will begin the battle over getting into the higher schools. Who will see his name on the list of those accepted for the first year of studies? Will we once again have to look very hard to find people born and raised in rural areas on these lists? We can be almost certain that the answer to this last question will be yes.

In recent years, ministerial quotas for acceptance to studies have been systematically reduced to 52,429 during the current academic year.

There are several reasons for this. The number of young people who are of age to enter academies is lower. Higher schools complain of meager teaching and social facilities (the lack of seminar halls, laboratories, teachers and the like). Finally, there are problems finding employment for graduates in certain humanistic fields. It is worthwhile to point out here that, contrary to current claims, the teaching profession is not included here. Several thousand people are still finding employment each year in elementary education, especially in rural areas. Some barely have a secondary education.

This academic year, there were 226 candidates for every 100 places. This is considerably less than in previous year, e.g., 258 in 1977. It was very difficult to get into higher art schools, medical academies and physical education academies. The competition was less stiff for acceptance to economics schools, higher technical schools and higher pedagogical schools.

Peasant youth represented less than 7 percent of the total number of those accepted for the first year of day school studies. Every 3rd to 5th child of a white collar worker takes advantage of the opportunity for study, while every 15th to 20th child of a working-class family and every 70th to 80th child of a rural family does so. The decline in the number of students of peasant origin (and worker origin as well) has been observed for many years, but thus far no reasonable decision has been undertaken to change this disturbing phenomenon. On the contrary, the so-called Lodz

Agreements signed a year ago step up this process. This makes one wonder why these agreements were signed. Certainly their purpose was not to equalize the representation of youth from rural and working-class communities among those studying at higher schools. The abolishment of equalizing credits for rural and working-class youth was a definite manifestation of state class policy against the young people from these communities. Naturally, such preferential treatment does not solve the problem of equality of opportunity for acceptance to higher schools. However, since the disproportions in the living conditions of various classes and social layers have neither been eliminated nor even fundamentally reduced for decades, are we to expect that this situation will now be rectified? When someone does this, I will no longer insist upon these preferences.

It should be kept in mind that the entrance examination for studies is merely a condensed version of the preparation of young people that takes place in the secondary schools and in the upper grades of the elementary schools (where one finds the so-called selection threshold). Two factors play a basic role here, namely the material and cultural conditions of family life of the future students and the level and quality of the elementary and secondary school. Here one need not discuss the inequality and differences in living conditions of rural and urban youth. These issues have been thoroughly discussed and debated. Regarding the second factor, let us recall that the educational reform was defeated, particularly the reform of structure. Nor were reform proposals on important questions of investment, providing instructional aids and textbooks and improved living conditions for teachers and their social prestige implemented. Rural and small-town youth were especially hard hit.

Peasant children who finish elementary school usually continue their education in vocational schools. Each year over 50 percent of these graduates enter basic vocational schools. They rarely choose general high schools and most young people accepted for the first year of studies come from these high schools. For example, more than 92 percent of the students accepted into medical academies are graduates of general high schools. The percentage of these graduates in universities is not much lower. They also make up the vast majority in such schools as higher pedagogical schools, economics schools and even agricultural schools. It is especially disturbing that even in such schools as the Agricultural University of Warsaw, peasant youth represent less than 17 percent of the total number of those accepted for the first year of studies. At the same time, this is one of the most "peasant-oriented" schools in our country. To their credit, exceptions to this general situation include the Bialystok branch of Warsaw University and Maria Curie-Sklodowska University and the Medical Academy in Lublin. The situation at higher art schools is a special sort of phenomenon. One can literally count on one hand the number of peasant children accepted to such institutions. There are 15 in all (yes--15). But not even one rural child has crossed the threshold of such venerable and recognized institutions as PWST [State Higher School of Dramatics] in Krakow and the Bialystok branch of the Warsaw PWST. Imagine, three representatives of this community have been accepted to ASP [Academy of Fine Arts] in Warsaw and five attend the Krakow ASP.

Let us take a further look at the directions "selected" by rural youth. They represent from 0.7 percent to 4 percent of the total number of those accepted into English and German studies, sociology and political science.

It is no wonder, then, that only 34 people are teaching English language in rural elementary schools (although only 13 of these have the necessary university qualifications to do so). The number of persons teaching German is 37, of which 29 have a higher education.

And so we come to the social consequence of the fact that only a negligible number of peasant youth is accepted for studies. The most dangerous and threatening thing is that a tremendous number of young people born and raised rurally (for which they are not to blame!) is deprived of the chance to participate in the processes of state organizations at levels accessible only to those who have a higher education. In this way, the road of social and professional advancement is cut off to people from rural areas and small towns who are capable, but are deprived of conditions for their intellectual development. In short, we are dealing with a process of the "ossification" of the Polish social structure.

This leads us to the definite conclusion that as long as conditions for education in the rural and urban communities are not equalized (although what is occurring is not exactly discrimination) at the elementary and secondary levels, preferences for candidates for higher study coming from rural, small-town and working-class communities must be maintained. These preferences cannot be limited only to the selection process that occurs when students take the entrance exam, nor can it consist of the mere mechanical allotment of additional credits by virtue of the fact that one comes from a specific community.

However, we already think that due to the great and constantly growing needs of rural areas for qualified teaching cadres, all candidates of peasant extraction who have passed the entrance exam for agricultural academies, medical academies and higher pedagogical schools should be accepted to these schools, regardless of the results attained by other candidates. Various scientific studies show that peasant youth are several times more likely to acknowledge a desire to return to work in the rural community after they complete their studies than graduates who come from other social communities.

The various proposals aimed at increasing the share of peasant youth in higher schools are justified by the interests of the rural areas and the entire country understood over the perspective of time.

8536

CSO: 2600/627

ILLEGAL STUDENT GROUP UNCOVERED IN CHELM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23-25 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "Left to Their Own Devices"]

[Text] A few weeks ago we wrote about an illegal group of youths from Starogard Gdanski. Recently five students of post-elementary schools--members of the organization "Poland Struggling for Democracy" (PWoD)--were detained in Chelm Lubelski. What kind of activities did they conduct?

An Unhealthy Climate

After August 1980 a chapter of "Solidarity" was formed that consisted of several thousand members. Some activists of the Union undertook political activities in addition to work on improving living conditions of the working class and the struggle with deviations which took place in the 70's. Leaflets slandering officials and calling to boycott the directives and disregard the law appeared in the city. A series of talks for youths was organized under the slogan of "unfalsifying history." The lectures were given by a J. Adamczuk from Lublin. Young people, who quite often were on a very low level of political knowledge, received negative appraisal of the alliance with the Soviet Union and of the people's rule. Instead, they listened to praises of the activities of Pilsudski and other politicians of the Second Polish Republic which combatted the leftists.

These activities have left their imprint. The youths formed informal groups which put forward rather hazy political goals. The groups were united by the negation of socialism.

It seems that tendencies to form illegal organizations would have stopped when martial law was announced. However, this past January signs of "Poland Struggling" appeared on the streets of the city, and later leaflets calling to resist the authorities and boycott their directives appeared as well.

An investigation conducted by the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia that was headed by Lt Col Jan Solis showed that five 16-year-old

students from secondary schools in Chelm--members of a group called "Poland Struggling for Democracy" (PWOD)--were the authors of the signs and leaflets.

#### What Did They Really Struggle For?

The five were active participants in the lectures of the "unfalsifier" J. Adamczuk. The initiator of the group was a student of the second class of the Agricultural Schools' Group, Piotr O. He coopted Mirosław P., Krzysztof P., and Piotr G. from the General High School 2 in Chelm and Jacek W. from the Basic Construction School. The main goal of the group, as shown by the materials of the investigation, was distribution of leaflets in the city. The youths collected paper and printer's ink. They made a printing block on the roll of a washing machine wringer. They used this primitive device to print dozens of leaflets which called for action.

Rightist organizations acting in Poland during the Nazi occupation served as a model for the members of PWOD. Five persons were to constitute a strictly secret leadership without any direct contact with rank and file members. The plans called for expanding the group, assigning propaganda materials and gathering incendiary devices and explosives.

The first action on a larger scale was to have been setting fire to the PZPR Voivodship Committee building by throwing bottles filled with gasoline at it.

During the talks with the representatives of the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia all five emphasized that they had organized a voice to protest against the martial law.

#### Again Exemplary Students

Like the boys from Starogard Gdanski, the organizers of PWOD were exemplary students.

Three members of the group attended the July Manifesto General High School.

"They did not display any special behavioral problems," says the principal Celina Jarmuszynska. "They attended school regularly, studied well and behaved well. They had special hobbies and interests. Mirek P. was our pride in the area of sports. Piotrek G. was enthusiastic about music."

According to teachers, none of the three boys, who were mathematics-physics majors, showed any special interests in the area of politics and history.

"This does not mean," says the history teacher Grazyna Gieras, "that they did not possess any knowledge on the subject. During civics class we tried to convey to the students knowledge about the early years of the formation of the people's government in our country and its accomplishments. As soon as martial law was announced, the youths were informed about the prohibitions and injunctions that it carried. During the whole period after classes started again it was quiet here."



General High School 2 is attended mainly by rural youth, often commuting from faraway towns. They do not have time for extracurricular activities. In this situation the Union of Socialist Polish Youth or any other social organizations are practically nonexistent in the school.

Is the Judge Right?

The case of the members of PWO has already been taken to juvenile court. It has been assigned to Judge Julian Zieminski.

"During the talks with the boys," he said, "I tried to find out the motives for their behavior. It turned out that neither their parents at home nor their teachers in school wanted to talk with them about subjects which interested them. Neither did they have any support from political and social organizations. This void was then filled by some activists of 'Solidarity,' historians who had a hostile attitude toward socialism and Western broadcasting stations. Not having any political background, the boys accepted the ideas promulgated by them as true. And that is how the idea of an organization, which took them down the road of collision with the law, was born."

"This Was Only an Adventure."

The decision of the court put the boys in a shelter for juveniles in Dominow, near Lublin, for the time before the trial.

Five nice 16-year-old boys are sitting in the meeting room. They willingly talk about themselves and about their activities.

"We got the name of the organization," Piotr O. said, "from Moczulski and Confederation of an Independent Poland. The idea of producing leaflets was suggested by a college student we knew--a member of the Independent Association of Students in Lublin. We tried to treat it all as play, though. We were just a group of people looking for adventure and fun which we did not have in our city. We had no intention of implementing a specific program. After all, none of us are enemies of the socialist system. They system gave our families a chance for advancement (parents of the majority of the boys come from the workers' environment, some are party members--annotation by W. S.). Now we would like to go back to normal schoolwork and correct all our mistakes."

Similar views were expressed by the other members of the group. They all showed a critical attitude toward their actions and were afraid of the punishment facing them.

What Does the Psychologist Say?

During their stay in the shelter the boys underwent full psychological testing. They showed considerable intelligence, unusual ability to associate facts, but also susceptibility to stresses caused by changes in environment. These abound in Dominow. Every day they come in contact with juvenile

delinquents sentenced for stealing, rapes and assaults. They feel threatened and afraid of them. This is probably not the right kind of companionship for them.

This opinion is shared by the psychologist Czeslaw Zralka.

"These are valuable young people," he said. "They should not be held responsible for their actions. In this case the environment in which they lived was responsible. It was not capable of presenting the right behavioral models and life guideposts. After all, they are not enemies of socialism but only misdirected people. And that is why putting them in the shelter is, in my opinion, an educational error."

What Next?

Soon the court will decide on guilt and punishment of the five members of PWOd. Let's hope that they will not find themselves in a shelter in Dominow where they may be threatened with demoralization and breaking of character. Let's assume that they will go back to Chelm, to their school, and will be under the counselor's care. Who will then help them fill their free time with interesting activities? A young man can go here to the movies or, if he has money, to a cafe. The House of Culture does not organize activities for youths, and schools apparently are not interested in extracurricular activities. Also, nobody conducts systematic ideological-educational activities for young people. After all, interesting discussions and meetings with scientists and political activists could be organized. It is a chance for the Polish Scout Union and for the Union of Socialist Polish Youth to show what they can do, but, as the youths claim, the activities of these organizations in the city are confined to the directors' board rooms. This observation is also confirmed by the empty Union of Socialist Polish Youth bulletin board in the center of the city.

We are not interested in releasing the group of youths under the sign of PWOd from any responsibility for their actions. If, even if it were only for fun, they chose to defy the existing legal order they must suffer the punishment they deserve. But the educational front in Chelm has to draw all the conclusions from the facts presented here.

9959

CSO: 2600/549

## STUDENT PASSIVITY, LACK OF COMMUNITY DEPLORED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] It seems that the status of the student community is not the best. The Independent Association of Students (NZS) was rendered illegal; the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) was suspended; and the students are sternly learning, because the rules have become stringent, and discussions taking place concerning the future of their movement are, in my opinion, barren. Barren, because they are very very unilateral. It is well that they study unswervingly, but it is bad that they engage only in discussion instead of establishing some type of community.

There is no shortage, among the boyish brotherhood of people, who completely glorify the Independent Association of Students because it has been dissolved, and they totally criticize--frankly they repudiate--the Socialist Union of Polish Students because it is suspended. These two reasons are completely satisfactory. At the same time many claim, perhaps justifiably so, that the community is in need of union organization, which will concern itself with the social interests of the students and organize culture, tourism, etc. To sum it up, it will really be concerned, this is a sacred word, about the student's well being, and just that.

What is the students' reaction to the community? None. That means that I have heard nothing regarding the raising of a specific, real motion anywhere on the matter of reviving the Polish Student Association, because this is to be the organization which guarantees "neutrality," or the forming of an organization with another name to fulfill the appropriate conditions. Is initiative possible? I do not know. I do know that no one has undertaken it seriously.

But perhaps such discussions, instead of action, are simply the student's prescription for life? Something must be done, hence it is best to discuss, and while doing so, to criticize only and not to pick anyone to pieces in order not to bear responsibility for anything--except your own cozy domestic life. That this might actually be a prescription--is at least indicated by the fact, that between August and December significantly more than half of the students quite truly assumed the position of observers. Let the others fight. So it makes no difference for what. It is important to observe curiously.

At this moment, reflection--yet the posture of the observer may bring advantages. The youth observes, learns from the mistakes of others and, thanks to this, does not make the same ones. Perhaps for this reason this posture is ideal for the student community? Unfortunately, I judge that it is not. I could accept this thesis, if not for the fact that, among the students, one more frequently encounters "formalism" rather than real analysis. Only deep analysis of a situation teaches something, even if there is no direct participation in the activities comprising that situation.

"Formalism," on the other hand, locks out the possibilities of knowing. We give it a name and that is the end. Already we know everything. This is good; this is compromised; this is pre-August; and this is post-August. What is there to analyze here? For everything is, once and for all, clear and settled. But if someone has doubts? It means--a block-head. It is difficult to suspect that the block-head had a motive. Even finally if he learns of it, in a clear manner, he may be told that however, in spite of everything, he is a block-head. If there is a lack of courage--at least one can think that way.

The position of observer, I beg your pardon, frankly discredits the student. The student, to be sure, obtains among other things, knowledge through exertion, so that later he and the society in which he lives can benefit from it. This is a fact and not a banality or propaganda. It is so in the whole world. Whoever is destined to work among people studies to be an intellectual. How will he act and reach an understanding with them if he does not learn this during his course of studies?

The condition of the student community is certainly none too good. The community at times seems as if it would like to become self-sustaining. Unfortunately, the studies will come to an end sometime; it will be necessary to depart from the student enclave and seriously engage in the creation of technology that will liberate our country from excessive coproduced imports. A good status will be necessary. But in order to have status it is necessary to train. It is not sufficient to "be wise" and say that everything is "b."

9951

CSO: 2600/577

LETTER TO EDITOR SCORES HIGH SCHOOL EXAM POLICY

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Letter by Magdalena Jarkowska, student at the General High School I in Chelm: "Mail 'SM'--Problems with Secondary-School Examination"]

[Text] I would like to voice my own, and the opinions of my colleagues, in presenting the matter of final examinations of next year in the general high schools. The proposal publicized in this matter is very inconvenient for us and adds to our woes. Subjects, which we must pass depending on the class major selected, were forced upon us.

In frequent cases, these subjects clash with the courses of study. Why can we not, as in the past, submit to final examinations in those fields of study which simultaneously coincide with subjects contained in college entrance exams? There are many individuals, and I refer only to them, who while attending classes with a humanities major, intend to study specific subjects. And conversely. This is the result of specifying their interests.

I think that we should not have imposed upon us a course of future studies, and this is indicated actually by the proposed variant of an examination of maturity. I present this as my personal example.

I am attending the third class and majoring in biology-chemistry. While attending secondary school I had no precise interests to influence my decision regarding a future course of studies. I was somewhat interested in biology. During the course of further studies I was introduced to ethnography and I would like to continue my studies in this direction.

In addition to the Polish language, a foreign language, and an additional subject, which in my case would be geography (the entrance examination for ethnography includes history and geography), I would be compelled to choose either biology or mathematics for my final examination--history--if I had been in the humanities-major class.

By passing this one subject could I not have been added to the circle of humanities specialists? I am certain that the educational authorities are concerned about the creation of a system which could contribute to our

training as highly qualified specialists in a given field. I shall not become "the fruit" of this very important foundation, if I am to be compelled to master two such broad fields as biology and history.

Most likely I shall simply have to pursue natural sciences in order to pass the final examination. I shall foresake the ethnography of my dreams and undertake studies in that field which represent a continuation of my secondary school major. However, I do not know whether I will practice the profession selected contrary to my own wishes with willingness, and most important, conscientiously and engagingly.

I request the editorial board to assume an active role in this matter. There is yet some time and certainly it would be possible for you to help us in some manner. We are young and wish to study, but only that which truly is of interest to us.

Please print my letter. Perhaps the youth in other schools will also express themselves on this subject for our mutual benefit.

P.S. I emphasize that I am distinctly concerned with the secondary school group whose coursework differs from the "major" subjects.

9951

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## CURRENT PRESS ATTENTION TO YOUTH AFFAIRS SURVEYED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by az: "In the News Columns--Young People in Crisis"]

[Text] More and more is being written about young people. This is due to the discussion on this subject which is beginning to take place within the framework of a party-wide debate. However, more and more social expectations deal with actual evaluations of the situation among young people. Despite the declarations which continue to be made, looked at objectively, young people are locked inside themselves, they have unresolved problems and, in general, avoid talking about themselves. They are waiting.

Ludwik Luzynski writes about generation problems in WALKA MLODYCH in an article entitled "Where Are They, What Do They Want?" in which we read: "We must look for answers and explanations in the statement that their trust has been misused and breached for the second time in a relatively short period. In the 1970s, they were to have been the avant-garde of a generation of great opportunity, while in the last 16 months they were told that they had mastered history. Previously, they were mobilized by the slogan of "Another Poland," while recently the slogan was "Another Japan." After December 1970, they turned out willingly and in great numbers for production and social actions not knowing the seeming usefulness that brought the economy, while after August 1980 they participated in strikes with equal willingness without realizing how destructively they served our economy. Their subjective role in both cases turned out to be an illusion because, despite assurances to the contrary, in practice, the level of their participation in the resolution of important national problems did not increase but decreased. It can not be said that they provided a good background for chiefs and leaders, particularly when Polish as well as foreign television cameras were in operation. They expressed their relationship to the decade of the '70s in August 1980 by placing their hopes and noblest intentions in "Solidarity". In giving this moment their most valuable attributes--love of truth and justice, willingness to serve the country with youthful energy and high qualifications under conditions far removed from hypocrisy and perversions--they believed that the choice they made this time really was an opportunity for their generation. An admission of defeat is not a pleasant action, and certainly it is not easy when one is made out a fool for the second time. Perhaps that is an overly frivolous and bold statement, but, 'ultimately, how many times can one be taken in during the course of a short lifetime' a young

Poznan worker whom I talked to asked bitterly. They do not delude themselves in the least that this opinion is shared by all young workers. Many of them do not even differentiate in their own minds between what was noble and essential after August and what constituted a threat to that process from the beginning...."

The author makes a rather deep analysis of the situation among young workers and ends the article with a conclusion which can also be expanded to other youth groups:

"Remembering," he writes, "that existence is defined by awareness, young people will for a long time be basing their attitudes about the country on the conditions under which they will be living, and knowing that retirees are worse off than they are will be of no consolation to them. It is true that some of them have adopted a "give me" attitude; nonetheless, the majority are interested in authority decisions that will create conditions for the developing inventiveness and resourcefulness, as well as for the utilization of high qualifications. The wage system and the new cadre policy regulations developed should correspond with that...."

An article by Leszek Jucewicz entitled "Being a Communist" in the fortnightly ZYCIE PARTII commends attention. This is an important subject, which is currently being discussed very widely within the party, especially so in the context of the debate on the political attitudes of party members.

"I have not yet met a mother", the author writes, "who had said of her child: 'I would like him to grow up to be a communist'." Some 30 years have elapsed from the initiation of socialist transformation in our country and the word "communist" has still not attained social acceptance.

Many deforming factors were disseminated in the bourgeoisie Poland of landed property by state institutions, right-wing political parties and the Church, factors which have contributed to the current concept of "communist". Property owning classes, exploiting religious feelings, nationalism, backwardness and fear of social revolution, were successful in implanting a frightening, monstrous image of a communist in the consciousness of the masses--of someone who is an enemy of God, the State and the country, who thirsts for blood and power, and is an advocate of force and violence. This kind of picture of a communist, though actually modified and freed of its most absurd features, has survived to this date and has been transmitted from one generation to another, and impacts on people's consciousness of the true image of a communist. However, a basic factor which favors the generational transmission of nonsense and absurdity was and is the anticommunist propaganda which sustains the dehumanized, primitive and vulgar stereotype of a communist.

Next, Leszek Jucewicz tries to provide an answer to the question of: "What does it mean to be a communist?", and formulates four criteria which settle this question in the Leninist sense of that word. They are:

The first criterion: faithfulness to communist ideology and reliance on practical activity under conditions in one's country, on the Marxist-Leninist theory



of social development, and on the experiences of other parties and socialist countries that enrich that theory.

The second criterion: a constant effort to expose the true class image of social reality and persistent counteraction against the deformation of this image by one deception or another.

The third criterion: governing one's self in one's own life and activities by socialist ideas and principles.

The fourth criterion: in every situation and in every case conducting oneself according to the interests of the working class and the socialist state, which constitute a synthesized expression of the interests of all social groups.

Wladyslaw Machejek's article this week in ZYCIE LITERACKIE on the subject of the current situation in Poland, and the prospects for ending martial law, also commands attention. The author refers to questions of national accord which are being transformed in some circles today into an idea of national accommodation.

Just as I am weary of the terms "accommodation" and "renewal" as used by the government and society, I am also weary of the terms "side" and "sides" in government-societal relationships. "Side" in my opinion sanctions a dissenting situation. Both sides are separate from one another like the crust on bread--irrespective of what is the center and what is the crust. Not only does the indivisibility of the nation as a biological and historical creation come into play, but also a state that is operating efficiently. The term "side" is much more depressing than the term "opposition". Please do not confuse opposition with rebellion. The "revolutionary minority" took the leading role more than once in turning-point situations for the nation, created a new State, and took from the past everything that is permanent, everything that the nation had as permanent. Front-line agitators and Red Guards fell away. A nation that is differentiated into classes and politically antagonized, brings eliminated values into the new order, but frequently goes back for certain elements and returns too hastily abandoned fragments to the common nest. Nothing ever ends once and for all, just as we do not know exactly the day or the deed which actually produced the nation. In any event, the indication of relative stability was a balance of forces until the vast majority came to the top.

For many years, there was no political stability in Poland. I am not saying that stability is an ideal, but a minimum is essential. Only a feeling of stability gives even an oppositionist (but not an enemy) a certainty and decisiveness in state activities.

A series of publications this week merit attention. The following can be recommended: "Talks With Internees" from ARGUMENTY, "One Could Hear the Flutter of Wings" about young people in PERSPEKTYWY, "Prospects for Coal Chemistry"--an interview with Dr Obloj in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, "Should Tailors Sew Boots"--about science in POLITYKA, and also a series of publications in honor of the 112th anniversary of Lenin's birth in KRAJ RAD.

10433

CSO: 2600/527

LETTER TO EDITOR DISCUSSES STUDENT FINANCIAL HARDSHIPS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Apr 82 p 2

[Letter by Wieslaw Bendkowski: "Have Students Been Forgotten?"]

[Text] The reform of the pricing system initiated nearly 3 months ago has resulted in a substantial worsening of living conditions, particularly of groups poorly protected against its effects. There are increasing indications of the need for taking another look at the material situation of these groups, including the student group.

Based on their source of support, students can be divided into two categories: those who get scholarships and those who are fully supported by their parents. This separation does not of itself as yet tell us anything. The maximum scholarship is currently 2,800 zlotys per month including compensation. A child allowance, etc., may also be added to this.

How is it possible to maintain oneself on this "giddy" sum? To be sure, taking into consideration the obligatory payments for accommodations in a student house (if one is successful in getting a place in one), for canteen meals, etc., essential expenses can be arranged in a way that will somehow suffice. However, we know that some clothing is needed and that outlays for so-called cultural purposes must not be restricted in such a way as perforce takes place in the budgets of average citizens. The new prices of books and their associated consequences have already been written up more than once.

In effect, students have two alternatives: take advantage of the help of their families, or try to supplement their slim pocketbook by getting a job somewhere. However, it turns out that many families are no longer able to finance their studying offspring, something that is one of those easy to foresee side effects of the reform mentioned. Neither does an additional income enter more widely into the reckoning despite the operation of prospering student work cooperatives which are still doing very well financially, because that requires a great deal of time free from school. Meanwhile, schools are making up for the lost months of last year's disturbances, something that is associated with the considerable increase in the number of classroom instruction hours. On the other hand, the obligatory order of studies introduced in consideration of martial law anticipates severe sanctions, including dropping students from the roster for cutting even a small number of classes.

Among those who do not receive scholarships there are many persons who were denied this form of assistance in the face of, so to say, good judgment although of course consistent with the regulations. I know of many such instances. For example, it is the case that, when a student has reached 25 years of age and does not live with his parents nor take advantage of their assistance, he might not get a scholarship even if he can prove this because, for example, he was not employed before he took up his studies. What sage thought up that regulation, and not only that regulation, and for what purpose, it is difficult to figure out.

Last Fall, the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology together with the Socialist Union of Polish Students prepared a thorough reform of the scholarship system. Several versions of material assistance were presented; and, according to opinions of those most interested, that is students, they were acceptable. A tentative effective starting time of March was announced.

May is near at hand. Has this decision also been forgotten?

10433

CSO: 2600/527

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--On 24 May, the minister of science, higher schools and technology named Prof Dr Jozef Szymanski as the new rector of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. Prof Szymanski was formerly an assistant dean of the Faculty of Humanities at that school. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 May 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/658

PURGES, HUNGARIAN SATIRICAL ARTICLES DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 14 May 82 p 5

[Article by Amber Bousoglou: "Mr Ceausescu's Fleeing Forward"]

[Text] The situation in Romania is constantly deteriorating from both the financial and the political points of view. Just when the economic crisis is worsening (Romanian foreign debt is estimated at US \$14 billion), the regime, under the leadership of Mr Ceausescu, is constantly hardening, as several affairs in progress in Bucharest indicate.

Several affairs in progress are making people in Bucharest afraid that the country is on the eve of enormous repression. The strangest of these affairs--the one which is giving rise to the most peculiar rumors--exploded on 28 April with the dismissal of Mrs Aneta Spornic, minister of education and a member of the Executive Committee of the Romanian PC [Communist Party], and of two of her deputy ministers. According to an informed source, it was made clear that those three individuals were relieved of their duties owing to lack of vigilance with regard to a sect denounced a short time earlier by the minister of interior's journal. According to that journal, APARAREA PATRIEI (Defense of the Homeland), the aim of that "transcendental meditation sect" is the infiltration of the Party and the State in order to get Romania to leave the Warsaw Pact.<sup>1</sup>

The sect, which was established in Switzerland by one Nicolas Stoian, of Romanian origin, and by his wife, of Swiss nationality,<sup>2</sup> enjoyed official status in Romania for four years; it even had a place at the Bucharest Psychology Institute where it initiated its followers into mental and physical relaxation through the practice of yoga.

Mrs Spornic and her deputies have not been the only victims of the "transcendentalist plot." The number of officials and intellectuals who have been dismissed from their jobs within the scope of this affair are estimated at about 250. Another 1500 people are said to have been interrogated at length by security organs. Among the prominent victims, let us mention Cornel Burada, deputy minister of transportation, whose only mistake would seem to be being very keen on yoga, and who nowadays finds himself assigned to a locomotive

repair shop. Moreover, it seems that the sect affair has been used to settle scores with a certain number of intellectuals. That was how Milcu Stefan, vice president of the Academy of Sciences, lost his job<sup>3</sup>, just as did Marin Sorescu, editor of RAMURI magazine and an elected council member of the Writers' Union, a body which the government would like to break up.

Also, Andrei Plesu, an art critic, was dismissed from the History Institute; he seems to have been criticized for having mocked excesses of Romanian nationalism in an article. Another victim of this purge, but at a distance, is the historian Mircea Eliade, who lives in the United States, and whom Romanian authorities have been trying for a long time to "win back" by publishing some of his books. All of Eliade's works have just been banned following a gesture of his for the benefit of a dissident priest, Father Calciu, who has been imprisoned for several years.

#### The Uneasiness of Historians

These attacks against intellectual circles are undoubtedly due to the refusal of the Writers' Union's members to name a favorite of Mr Ceausescu's, Eugen Barbu, as president. Mr Barbu, who had the backing of the authorities, was, in fact, beaten in an election by secret ballot. As if by coincidence he had been accused a short time before by Mr Sorescu--the same man who has just been relieved of his responsibilities--of having plagiarized the Soviet writer Constantin Paustovski. At the time of the incident, Mr Ceausescu sided wholeheartedly with his protege. This offensive against an institution which still has relatively liberal statutes--the Plastic Arts [painting and sculpture] Union is in the same situation--might be continued next June at the time of the Culture and Educational Congress.

Romanian historians are also very uneasy and are fearful of falling into the clutches of the party's History Institute on the occasion of the above-mentioned congress. Although they enjoyed relative independence from the end of Gheorgiu Dej's rule to the beginning of Mr Ceausescu's, things have constantly been going badly for them since 1971. As soon as he had made certain of his power, the present head of the party and the state attempted to polish his public image and to build up his personality cult, undoubtedly in order to make the people forget about increasingly difficult living conditions.

#### Hungarian Humor

Thus, he decided to endow the inhabitants of his country with prestigious ancestors, and he required the historians to show that there was a homogeneous nation in Romania whose birthplace was in Transylvania while in the neighboring countries (especially in Bulgaria and Hungary) there were only people of different origins. So, Romanians successively learned that they descended from the Romans, then the Dacians, and finally, and lastly, the Thracians, not to mention other falsifications required from historians to show the bravery of the Romanian nation through the centuries.

Do the Soviet leaders feel that Mr Ceausescu is going too far in his passion for the rewriting of history? One might well wonder after the publication on 13 March in the Hungarian party organ, NEPSZABADSAG, of an astonishing satire on Mr Ceausescu's historical claims.

Under the title "Identity," a little-known Hungarian author, Zoltan Galabardi, lampoons (without naming him) the "president" of a city who, in order to keep his citizens under better control, decides to give them the Visigoths as ancestors, which makes the inhabitants of the "Upper City" (Hungary) smile and say to each other: "The president would do better to have the roads and the city hall clock repaired or pay the neighboring commune back the 83 kg of borrowed typing paper." All The Romanian events are transposed into this setting: conferences, festivals, "introduction of beauty into life"--which is to say, sale of smiling portraits of the president--; all the manifestations of the cult of personality are turned into mockery, including the gift of the president's used clothes to the museum of the future (an allusion to the fact that an entire section in the Bucharest Historical Museum is given over to gifts made by the president and Mrs Ceausescu).

"I want to get them to attain world-class standard on a Visigothic scale, and they talk to me about standard of living," answers the "president" of the city when people talk to him about economy and the potato harvest. So he gets hold of some world celebrities to prove his arguments, but the latter fight among themselves and demolish the whole grand structure, "and the president with it."

An illustration accompanied this satire: the portrait of a man whose features recall those of Mr Ceausescu and from whose head ancient warriors and sailing ships are issuing forth.

To lampoon an allied chief of state is hardly customary in the countries of the socialist camp. Therefore, it is undoubtedly a matter of a warning coming, through Hungary, from Moscow itself. The Hungarian minority of Romanian Transylvania has already served as a pretext for the Hungarians when Mr Ceausescu's flirtation with the West was going too far or when he did not want to increase his military credits as the Warsaw Pact desired.

Romania's domestic economic situation is, in fact, getting worse. There is an increasing shortage of food products and prices are continuing to climb; free markets no longer exist: plots must be cultivated in accordance with official instructions and their harvests be delivered to the State, and each head of livestock and poultry has theoretically been registered. Romanians are now entitled to telephone overseas only once every four months. Any additional calls are hit with a tax of 500 lei (which is half of an old age pensioner's monthly payment). The population seems more and more exasperated. The Motu Valley (where the miners threw stones at Mr Ceausescu's helicopter last summer) is still a prohibited area.

The lesson in humility given by NEPSZABADSAG does not seem to have hit home. On 29 March, which was 16 days after the Hungarian article appeared, one Florescu, a writer devoted to Mr Ceausescu, was praising the latter's second son Niku, the heir apparent who is secretary of the communist youth movement, by writing in ROMANIA LIBERA: "What good fortune having a son who is so much like his father." The dynasty is theoretically safe--since one ought to know, for the record, that the eldest son cannot be the heir: his wife is Jewish, and Mrs Ceausescu does not accept her.

How far will blindness lead Nicolas Ceausescu in this flight forward? That is what people are asking in Bucharest, and that is doubtless why several intellectuals have just sent a memorandum on the deepseated crisis of Romanian society to the Central Committee. They are suggesting that the "televised performances" be ended, and that the "overweening style" and useless ceremonial meetings be abandoned. They are also calling for "all honest men involved in the tragic destiny of this country" to openly give their opinions on Romania's condition and on possible remedies. But does the Romanian leadership still include many honest men?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In addition, the 20 April issue of the official Romanian newspaper (which has just reached the West) published a decree on the 12th of that month announcing the dismissal of Commanding General Vasile Moisie, deputy minister of interior, and Major Gheorghe Zagoneanu, that ministry's state secretary.
2. At the Geneva headquarters of that "transcendental meditation academy," they say they know nothing about Mr Stoian, who is, in any case, nowhere to be found in Switzerland.
3. It was he who signed the "sect's" authorization to operate at the Bucharest Psychology Institute. That institute seems to have been done away with.

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END